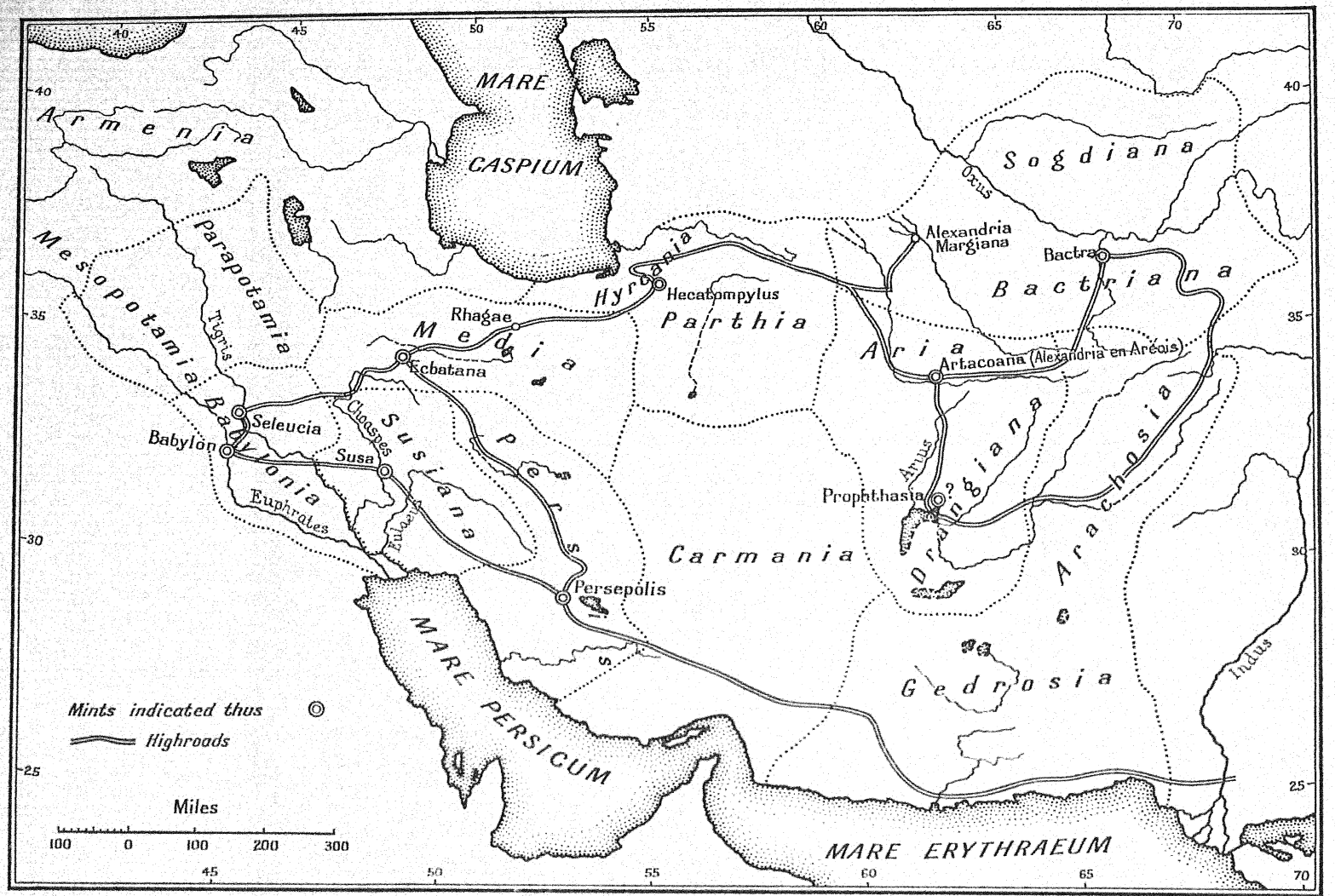


EASTERN SELEUCID MINTS AND TRADE-ROUTES

THE COINAGE OF THE EASTERN SELEUCID MINTS

FROM SELEUCUS I TO ANTIOCHUS III

BY

EDWARD T. NEWELL

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TO

SIR GEORGE MACDONALD

WHO FIRST PLACED THE STUDY

OF SELEUCID COINAGES

UPON A SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATION

THIS FOLLOWING IN

HIS FOOTSTEPS IS DEDICATED



PREFACE

In spite of the devoted work of numerous students, a large portion of the Seleucid coinage still remains unattributed to the various mints which once produced it. Especially is this true with regard to the issues of the earlier kings. Long ago Sir George Macdonald, in one of his brilliant studies on this subject which appeared in the Journal of Hellenic Studies for 1903, took the occasion to say: "If there is to be further progress, there must be a change of tactics. Attention must be concentrated on well-defined groups, which should be subjected to as close a scrutiny as possible. If this is done systematically, there can be little doubt but that the tangled skein will be unravelled." These words are as true today as when they were first penned.

The present study therefore follows the pathway indicated by Sir George, and attempts to segregate the eastern issues of the first six members of the Seleucid dynasty. These issues fall into several large groups, and it ought to be possible, in the light of present-day knowledge, to assign these groups to their several mints. Of particular value in this attempt are the large quantities of bronze coins which have been unearthed by scientifically conducted excavations in the Near East. Groups of coins which regularly reach our public and private collections from defined districts also contribute their quota towards determining their former areas of circulation, and even their actual mints.

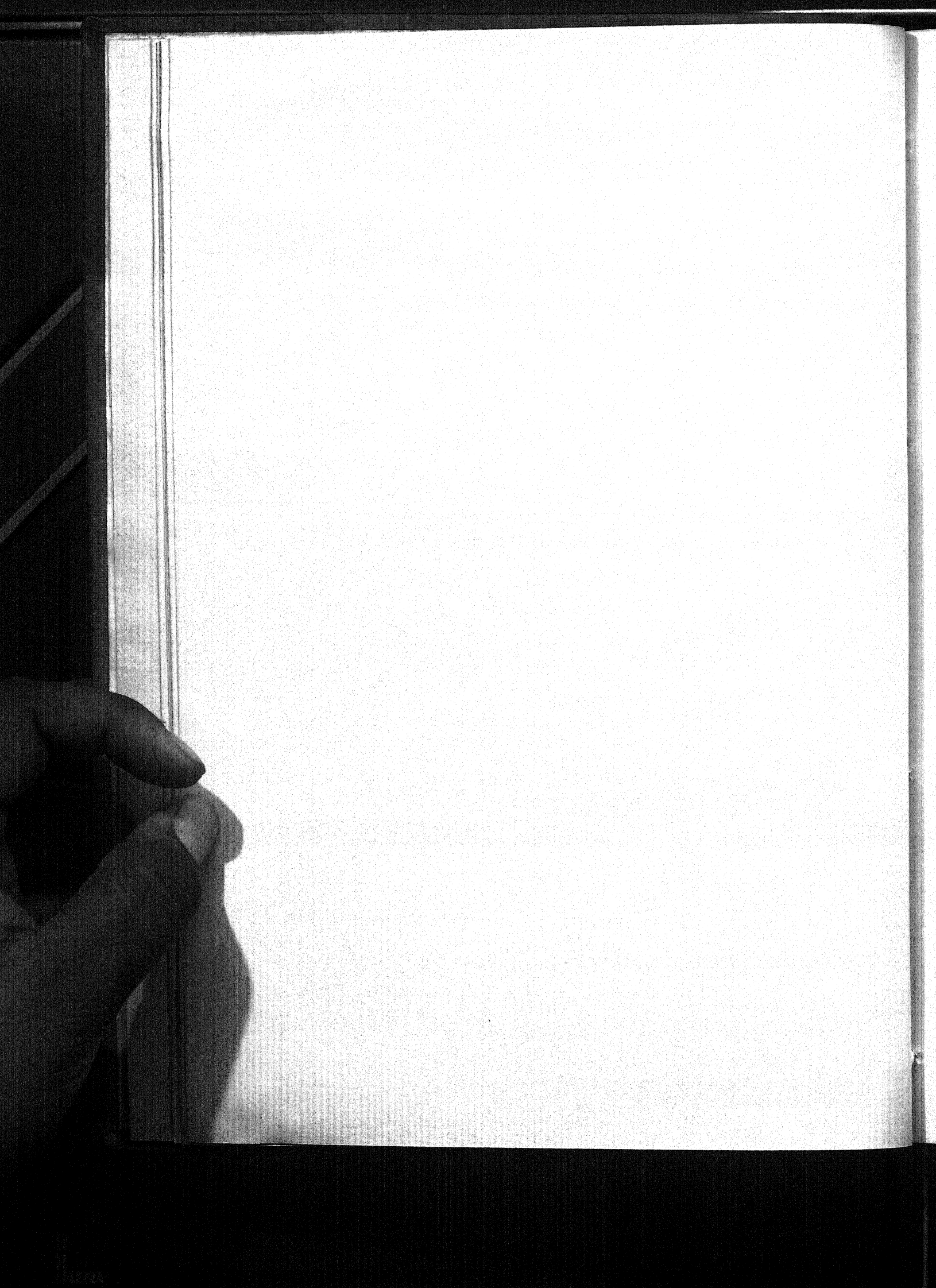
Since closing the catalogue in December 1937, there have turned up a number of new, though for the most part minor, varieties. These have had to be incorporated under such numbers as 15A, 48A, 51A, etc. It was found possible to make room on the plates for a few of the more interesting specimens, but unfortunately not for all, as some of them arrived after the plates had been printed.

Because W. W. Tarn's stimulating *The Greeks in Bactria and India* reached America only after this manuscript was already in the hands of the printer, it has been found impossible to add more than a few references.

For the receipt of casts and of certain items of information, the writer is under the very deepest obligation to the curators of various public collections, to Sir George Macdonald, M. Jean Babelon, Dr. J. Leigle, Dr. Karl Pink, Dr. Aziz Bey, Dr. M. A. Evelein, Dr. Georg Galster, Dr. Robert H. McDowell, and especially to Mr. E. S. G. Robinson who not only rendered inestimable assistance with regard to coins in the British Museum, but also secured casts of certain important pieces in the Newnham Davis Collection at Aberdeen. Sincerely appreciated also is the interest, hard work and valuable suggestions unstintingly contributed by the Editor, Mr. Sydney P. Noe, and his staff, in the preparation of the manuscript for press. To all these gentlemen, the writer's most grateful thanks are hereby expressed.

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CHAPTER I

Seleucia on the Tigris

Although the silver and many of the bronze issues of Seleucia on the Tigris had long been recognized as such by the present writer in arranging the Seleucid coins in his own collection, he hesitated to publish his researches, because the final proof of the correctness of his attributions depended upon the ascertained find spots of the copper coins. Many of these pieces existed in his own, as well as in the large public collections of London, Paris and Berlin; but their primary source or origin was generally unknown. The most that could be said was that such coins seemed, as a rule, to come from Mesopotamia and western Persia—hardly enough evidence upon which to base a definitive study. The necessity of waiting any longer has now been removed by the appearance of Dr. McDowell's important description and study[1] of the thousands of copper coins unearthed in the course of the excavations carried on by the University of Michigan at Tel Umar, the site of ancient Seleucia.

Seleucia on the Tigris, as is well known, was founded by Seleucus I at or near the once flourishing city of Opis.[2] It was situated some forty miles to the northeast of Babylon and fifteen miles to the south of modern Baghdad, near the spot where the "Royal Canal" (Nahr Malcha) of Nebuchadrezzar and earlier kings joins the Tigris river. The basic reasons for Seleucus' new foundation were doubtless commercial and political, strengthened by his determination to remove his capital from the subversive associations of the past, as well as from the constant and, at times, possibly malign influence of a powerful and independent priesthood, for many centuries deeply entrenched in Babylon. Seleucus fully appreciated that one city, however vast, could not successfully and peacefully contain an immense hierarchy wielding enormous influence over the resident multitudes of superstitious natives, a thoroughly Greek government, and a large Greek population as well.

History proves that the site of the new capital was indeed wisely chosen. To it, Seleucus moved all government offices and settled there large numbers of Greeks as well as native Babylonians. The city grew rapidly in size, wealth and consequence,[2a] drawing to itself an ever increasing number of the former inhabitants of Babylon. The older city, the metropolis and capital of Mesopotamia for millenniums, now sank to the status of a provincial town, later to a mere "holy site," and eventually disappeared entirely except for vast fields of deserted and crumbling ruins. From that day to this, Seleucia and its successors—Ctesiphon in Sassanian,

[1] R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris.* Ann Arbor, 1935.

[2] Winckler, *Altorient. Forsch.*, 2te Reihe, iii, 1901, p. 509; Waterman, *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq*, 1931, p. 1 ff.; Strabo XVI, 1, 9.

[2a] The reasons for the greatness of Seleucia are succinctly stated by Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 60–62.

Baghdad in mediaeval and modern times—have remained the centre of both government and population in the "Land of the Two Rivers."

The exact date of the founding of Seleucia is unknown. Regarding it, modern scholars are somewhat at variance. But Beloch,[3] with his date put at shortly after 311 B. C., and Kaerst,[4] with his at shortly after 306 B. C., are almost certainly more nearly correct than Bouché-Leclercq,[5] who does not place the founding until after the battle of Ipsus in 301 B. C. The new and rapidly growing city replaced Babylon as the administrative centre, and it may be taken as certain that an important mint was at once opened here. Whether the old mint of Babylon was transferred *in toto* to Seleucia, or whether it was allowed for a time to continue coining the "lion" staters only, later to be closed down as no longer necessary, we cannot as yet be certain.

In any case, the present chapter proposes to deal only with the coins struck by Seleucus and his immediate successors in the new capital of Seleucia. But as these issues are the direct continuation of those struck previously at Babylon, a few words with regard to the latter may not be out of place.

Imhoof-Blumer was the first[6] to point out the Babylonian coinages of Alexander the Great and Philip III. The numerous tetradrachms of these issues have also twice been added to, listed, and described by the present writer,[7] and need no further discussion here. Through sequence of dies, style and fabric the Babylonian Alexandrine issues, both gold and silver, from the death of Philip III to *circa* 305 B. C., are easily determined. They will be found in Müller's great work[8] under Nos. 709–49, 1484 and 1488–90. To these, of course, must be added many varieties not known to Müller and therefore not found in his lists. Alongside the Alexandrine coinages for Babylon, there was also the prolific so-called "lion type" coinage: *obverse*, Baal-Tars (or Zeus) enthroned to l.; *reverse*, Prowling lion to l. These have been carefully listed by Six,[9] Imhoof-Blumer[10] and Hill.[11]

In 305 B. C. Seleucus, following the example set by his fellow satraps (Antigonus, Demetrius, Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy), officially assumed the title of king. His Alexander type coinages immediately reflect this important step and, thenceforth, we find the name of Seleucus replacing that of Alexander on the coins issued from Seleucia. In other respects, i.e. types, weight, and fabric, these new issues are but the continuation of the immediately preceding coinages of Babylon.

In the following catalogue only such specimens have been gathered together

[3] *Griechische Geschichte*, 2nd ed., Vol. IV, 1, p. 136, note 2.
[4] *Geschichte des Hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Vol. II, 1, pp. 73–4.
[5] *Histoire des Séleucides*, p. 524. See also the opinion of Stähelin in Pauly-Wissowa, II, 2, p. 1216.
[6] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, pp. 6–7.
[7] *American Journal of Numismatics*, 1911 and 1912, *Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great;* Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 19, *Alexander Hoards II—Demanhur*, pp. 57–64, 140–43.
[8] *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Copenhagen 1855.
[9] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 219–22.
[10] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, pp. 2–9.
[11] Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, *Arabia*, etc., pp. 181–91.

as have been most easily available to the writer. No claim to completeness is made, especially for the period after Seleucus I. But enough specimens have been accumulated to offer a reasonably clear picture of the productions of the Seleucia mint from *circa* 305 B. C. down to the death of Antiochus III.

Only for the reign of Seleucus himself has attention been paid to the dies used, and the gold and silver coins arranged accordingly. The obverse dies of the gold staters have been given capital, the reverse dies italic, letters. The obverse or anvil dies of the tetradrachms have been numbered A1, A2, etc.; the reverse or punch dies *P1*, *P2*, etc. Both the small silver and the bronze issues of Seleucus, as well as all the coins of his immediate successors, have not had their dies numbered, as the writer's material is largely confined to his own collection and to illustrated catalogues. The assembling of casts of these coins, preserved in the various museums and private collections, seemed, for the present at least, unnecessary as entailing too great a burden upon the already much-tried generosity and time of their various curators.

In the case of the bronze coins, the denominational designations suggested must be considered as absolutely arbitrary and employed only to render it possible to distinguish the various sizes at a glance. No die positions of any of the gold, silver or bronze coins have been given as, throughout this period, the coins at the mint of Seleucia appear to have been struck from loose dies. This had also been the practice at Babylon ever since the second issue under Alexander the Great.[12]

Where ascertainable, the weights of all coins catalogued have been given. Students, however, must be cautioned with regard to the present weights of the silver coins from the Haynes and Gejou Hoards. When found, these coins were so heavily corroded by the salts present in the Mesopotamian soil that all details of their types and magistrates' monograms were invisible. In the process of cleaning, they have naturally lost in weight from one to two grammes per tetradrachm—the smaller pieces in proportion. The same is also true with regard to most of the bronze coins from the excavations at Seleucia. Throughout the catalogue itself, coins from Prof. Haynes' Babylonian Hoard (Noe No. 118) are designated by the name "Haynes," those from M. Gejou's Mesopotamian Hoard (Noe No. 680) by "Gejou." The great European public collections in London, Paris, Berlin, etc. are referred to by the names of these respective cities. The catalogues of Seleucid coins in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale are designated by the names of their authors, Gardner and Babelon.

[12] Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 19, p. 143.

SERIES I, *c.* 305–300 B. C.

GROUP A, *c.* 305–304 B. C.

1. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. wearing a triple-crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. (to be read from the centre out). Winged Nike standing, facing l., holding wreath in her outstretched r. and *stylis* in her l. Behind Nike, ⋈Ρ.

A —*a*. Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 8.60. PLATE I, 1.
B —*b*. Newell (Egger XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 624, Pl. xviii = Egger, Nov. 1909, No. 418, Pl. xiv), gr. 8.46. PLATE I, 2.
C —*c*. Paris (Babelon No. 3), gr. 8.60. PLATE I, 3.
D —*d*. Stockholm (Naville X, No. 750, Pl. 25 = Consul Weber Coll., Hirsch XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4025, Pl. lii), gr. 8.33. PLATE I, 4.

2. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful head of Heracles to r. in lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the r. Zeus, naked to waist, seated l. on high-backed throne, holds eagle in outstretched r., rests l. on sceptre. In l. field, ⋈Ρ.

A1 —*P1*. London (= Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, p. 720, No. 7829, Pl. 285), gr. 17.33. PLATE I, 5.

3. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ⋈Ρ. Beneath throne, ⊜.

A2 —*P2*. α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. = Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2857, Pl. xxiv), gr. 17.20; β) London (Gardner No. 9), gr. 16.85. PLATE I, 6.
P3. Newell, gr. 17.29. PLATE I, 7.
A3 —*P4*. Newell (Angora Hoard), gr. 16.89. PLATE I, 8.

4. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ⋈Ρ. Beneath throne, Δ|.

A1 —*P5*. Vienna, gr. 16.40. PLATE I, 9.
P6. Newell (Haynes), gr. 15.99.
A4 —*P7*. Newell (Armenak Hoard), gr. 17.14. PLATE I, 10.
P8. Paris (Babelon, No. 18, where monograms have become transposed), gr. 17.10.
P9. (No back to throne). Athens.
A5 —*P10*. Newell, gr. 16.67. PLATE I, 11,
A6 —*P11*. London. PLATE I, 12.
P12. Luneau Coll., Platt Sale, March 1922, No. 719, Pl. xv = Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 426, Pl. iii.
P13. (No back to throne). α) Newell (Prokesch-Osten Coll., Berlin Duplicates), gr. 16.83; β) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 633a, gr. 16.51; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.08. PLATE I, 13.
P14. Commerce, gr. 17.08.
A7 —*P15*. Copenhagen, gr. 16.62. PLATE I, 14.
P16. Newell (Haynes), gr. 15.43.

A8 —*P17*. Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2852), gr. 17.11. PLATE I, 15.
P18. Dr. E. P. Robinson.
P19. α) de Nanteuil Coll., No. 486, Pl. xxx (= Schlesinger y Guzman Coll., Sotheby Sale, July 1914, No. 110, Pl. vi), gr. 17.00; β) Istanbul (Diarbekir Hoard), gr. 16.95.
P20. α) London; β) Metropolitan Museum, New York (Ward Coll., No. 763, Pl. xviii = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1894, No. 327), gr. 17.02.
P21. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 765, Pl. 26, gr. 16.91.
A9 —*P22*. α) Vatican, Rome; β) Istanbul (Diarbekir Hoard), gr. 16.77.
P23. Newell, gr. 17.14. PLATE II, 1.
A10—*P24*. Athens. PLATE II, 2.
P25. Commerce, 1920.
P26. Newell, gr. 17.00.
A11—*P27*. London (Gardner, No. 5), gr. 17.17. PLATE II, 3.
P28. Newell (Angora Hoard), gr. 17.13.
P29. Istanbul (Diarbekir Hoard), gr. 16.96.
A12—*P30*. (No back to throne). Saroglos Coll. (Benson Coll., Sotheby Sale, Feb. 1909, No. 753, Pl. xxiv), gr. 17.10. PLATE II, 4.
A13—*P31*. (No back to throne). α) E. S. G. Robinson Coll. PLATE II, 5; β) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9237, Pl. 335, 2), gr. 16.96.
A14—*P32*. Newell (Headlam Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1916, No. 431), gr. 16.94. PLATE II, 6.
P33. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.04.
P34. Newell (Haynes), gr. 15.51.
P35. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.23.
P36. Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 16.69.
P37. Vienna, gr. 16.65.
A15—*P38*. Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 6, No. 6, Pl. lxiii, 8), gr. 17.05. PLATE II, 7.
P39. (No back to throne). Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4425, Pl. liv, gr. 17.02.
P40. α) Newell, gr. 17.09; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 754, Pl. 26, gr. 17.03.
P41. Newell, gr. 17.20.
P42. Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.28. PLATE II, 8.
P43. Vienna, gr. 16.80.
A16—*P44*. α) London, PLATE II, 9; β) Cahn Sale 66, May 1930, No. 361, Pl. 11, gr. 16.05.
A17—*P45*. Vienna, gr. 17.10.

5. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ⋈P. Beneath throne, K.

A16—*P46*. α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 764, gr. 17.04, Pl. 26; β) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 405, gr. 17.00, Pl. 13; γ) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1664, Pl. 57 = Earle Coll., H. Chapman Sale, June 1912, No. 249, Pl. iv = Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4427, Pl. lv, gr. 17.12. PLATE II, 10.
P47. (K recut over ≻|). α) London (Gardner, No. 4, who mistakes the overcut letters for a star), gr. 17.11; β) Newell, gr. 17.09. PLATE II, 11.
P48. α) Athens, National Coll.; β) Kaftanzoglou Coll.; γ) R. Jameson Coll., No. 1651, gr. 17.08, Pl. lxxxii.
A18—*P49*. α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 6, No. 4), gr. 17.08; β) Newell, gr. 17.12.
P50. Commerce. PLATE II, 12.

6. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Athena to r., with long hair and wearing a crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots.

Humped bull to r. Above, ⋈P.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); β) London (*Recueil général, etc.*, p. 247, No. 2, Pl. xxxvii, 6). PLATE III, 2; γ) London; δ) London; ε) Newell, gr. 8.51; ζ) Newell, gr. 9.24. PLATE III, 1.

7. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding

Similar to the preceding, but with the ⌘ beneath the bull.

London. PLATE III, 3.

8. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with the Seleucid anchor above the bull, and ΦΞ in the exergue.

α) London; β) London; γ) London. PLATE III, 4; δ) London. PLATE III, 5; ε–ζ) *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 7, No. 11 (the two specimens said to have an anchor probably belong here. See below, p. 34, No. 108A).

GROUP B, *c.* 304–303 B. C.

9. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 5.

Similar to No. 5. In l. field, ⌘ in wreath. Beneath throne, ΔΙ.

A14—*P51*. London (Gardner No. 6, Pl. I, 3), gr. 17.15. PLATE III, 6.
A15—*P52*. Vienna, gr. 16.50.
A19—*P53*. Toronto, gr. 16.05.

10. STATER.
From the same die as No. 1 (A).

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. (to be read from the centre out). Winged Nike to l. as on No. 1. In l. field, ⌘ in wreath. In r. field, K.

A —*e*. Commerce. PLATE III, 7.

11. STATER.
Same die as the preceding.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. (to be read in the usual manner). Type similar to the preceding. In l. field, ⌘ in wreath. In r. field, K.

A —*f*. Turin, Museo Archeologico (Fabretti No. 2558), gr. 8.52. PLATE III, 8.

12. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 9.

Similar to No. 9. In l. field, ⌘ in wreath. Beneath throne, K.

A14—*P54*. α) E. S. G. Robinson Coll.; β) Naville X, June 1925, No. 762, gr. 16.90, Pl. 26. PLATE III, 9.
A15—*P55*. (The K has been recut over a preceding ΔΙ). α) Newell (Angora Hoard), gr. 17.14; β) Berlin (Fox Coll. from Whittall, 1851), gr. 17.16. PLATE III, 10.
P56. (The K has been recut over a preceding ΔΙ) Newell, gr. 17.02.
P57. (K recut over a preceding ΔΙ ?) Naville X, June 1925, No. 763, gr. 17.04, Pl. 26.
P58. London.
A18—*P59*. Hague. PLATE III, 11.
P60. Copenhagen, gr. 16.89.
P61. Helbing Sale, Nov. 1928, No. 4054, gr. 16.8, Pl. 73.
A19—*P62*. London (Gardner No. 7), gr. 16.98. PLATE III, 12.
P63. α) Paris (Babelon No. 17), gr. 16.80; β) Istanbul (Sardes, Pot-hoard No. 15), gr. 16.55.

A20—*P64*. α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 6, No. 5), gr. 16.70; β) Newell, gr. 17.14. PLATE III, 13.

A21—*P65*. Newell (Angora Hoard), gr. 17.12. PLATE III, 14.

P66. Cambridge (McClean Coll. No. 9236, Pl. 335, 1 = Babington Coll., Sotheby Sale 1891, No. 291), gr. 16.91.

GROUP C, *c.* 303–302 B. C.

13. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but Zeus holds a wreath-bearing Nike in his outstretched r. In l. field, ⋈P. Beneath throne, K.

A22—*P67*. (with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ). α) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll. (Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 726, Pl. 12), gr. 16.75; β) London (Gardner No. 20. The supposed "date" ΛΕ seen by Gardner beneath the throne is only the ΛΕ, i. e. AE, of the title), gr. 16.85; γ) Cambridge (McClean Coll., No. 9239, Pl. 335, 4 = Sim Coll., Sotheby 1890, No. 393), gr. 16.86; δ) George J. Bauer Coll. (Bement Coll., Naville VII, June 1924, No. 1665, Pl. 57), gr. 16.79. PLATE IV, 1.

P68. Newell, gr. 17.03.

14. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ⋈P. Beneath the throne, BE.

A23—*P69*. Berlin (Morel Coll.), gr. 17.115. PLATE IV, 2.

P70. Vienna, gr. 17.05.

P71. Newell (Armenak Hoard), gr. 17.08.

15. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Athena to r. wearing a crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of dots.

The monogram ⋈P above an elephant standing to r. Beneath elephant, B.

α) Newell (Mavrogordato-Beltazzi Coll., *Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 287, No. 623, Pl. xi, 28), gr. 6.03. PLATE IV, 4. This coin has been restruck on a specimen of No. 6. β) London. PLATE IV, 5. Also restruck over a preceding coin. γ) Newell, gr. 9.14. PLATE IV, 3; δ) London; ε) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 8, No. 29, Pl. lxiii, 14), gr. 8.75; ζ) Newell (from Irak), gr. 7.83.

15A. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, with ⋈P above, and B beneath elephant to r.

Newell (sent from Beyrouth), gr. 4.55. PLATE LVI, 16.

16. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but ⋈P is beneath the elephant, and B is in front.

α) Newell, gr. 3.96. PLATE IV, 6; β) London. PLATE IV, 7; γ) Rev. Edgar Rogers, *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 240, No. 3, gr. 3.95, Pl. ix, 5.

17. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to No. 15, but with P beneath the elephant.

α) Newell, gr. 8.54. PLATE IV, 8; β) London. PLATE IV, 9; γ) London; δ) Paris (Babelon No. 61, Pl. ii, 15) gr. 8.20; ε) Cahn Sale 84, Nov. 1933, No. 403, gr. 8.50, Pl. 14.

18. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with 𐡀 beneath the elephant.

α) Newell, gr. 8.36. PLATE IV, 10; β) Newell (restruck on No. 6), gr. 8.19. PLATE IV, 11.

GROUP D, *c.* 302–301 B. C.

19. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to Nos. 13 and 14.

Similar to Nos. 13 and 14. Zeus holds Nike in his outstretched r. In l. field, No. Beneath throne, Σ.

A24—*P72*. Newell (Armenak Hoard), gr. 17.15. PLATE IV, 12.
P73. Paris (Babelon No. 23, Pl. I, 8), gr. 16.80.
A25—*P74*. α) Paris (Babelon No. 24. The "o" of "No" is covered by corrosion), gr. 16.70; β) London (Gardner No. 22), gr. 17.04. PLATE IV, 13.

20. HEMIDRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same magistrates' letters.

α) Newell, gr. 2.13. PLATE IV, 14; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 25, Pl. I, 9), gr. 2.00.

21. OBOL.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same magistrates' letters.

Cambridge (Leake Coll.), gr. 0.67. PLATE IV, 15.

22. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 19.

Similar to No. 19. In l. field, 𐡀𐡐 (or 𐡀𐡅).

A26—*P75*. (𐡀𐡐). α) Naville X, June 1925, No. 769, gr. 16.74, Pl. 26; β) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 6, No. 10, Pl. lxiii, 9), gr. 17.13. PLATE IV, 16.
P76. (𐡀𐡅). Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 7, No. 11), gr. 17.13. PLATE IV, 17.
P77. (𐡀𐡅). University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
P78. (𐡀𐡅). London (Gardner No. 17), gr. 16.50.

23. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, NO.

A27—*P79*. Copenhagen, gr. 17.08. PLATE IV, 18.

24. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with eagle (instead of victory) held by Zeus.

A25—*P80*. α) Newell, gr. 17.23; β) Newell (Angora Hoard), gr. 17.00, PLATE V, 1.
P81. Newell (Angora Hoard), gr. 17.15. PLATE V, 2.
P82. α) Naville X, June 1925, No. 766, gr. 17.15, Pl. 26; β) London; γ) Newell, gr. 17.11. PLATE V, 3.
A27—*P83*. Berlin (Prokesch-Osten), gr. 17.12. PLATE V, 4.

25. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, with eagle (instead of victory) held by Zeus. In l. field, 𐡅.

A26—*P84*. α) Copenhagen, gr. 16.76; β) Newell, gr. 16.95. PLATE V, 5.

26. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but now Zeus again holds a victory. In l. field, A 𐤉.

A26—*P85*. Paris (Babelon No. 28), gr. 17.10. PLATE V, 6.
A28—*P85*. London. PLATE V, 7.

GROUP E, *c.* 301–300 B. C.

27. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐤀. Beneath throne, M.

A29—*P86*. Newell (Armenak Hoard), gr. 17.06. PLATE V, 8.
P87. London (Gardner No. 19), gr. 16.88.
P88. London. PLATE V, 9.
P89. Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2916, Pl. lxxxiv (= Ratto Sale, May 1912, No. 1075, Pl. xx), gr. 16.88.
P90. Naville X, June 1925, No. 776, Pl. 26, gr. 16.41.
P91. Berlin, gr. 17.035. PLATE V, 10.
A30—*P92*. Newell, gr. 16.19. PLATE V, 11.
P93. R. Jameson, No. 1652, Pl. lxxxii, gr. 17.08.

28. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, M. Beneath throne, 𐤃.

A30—*P94*. Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer), gr. 17.00. PLATE V, 12.
P95. α) Newell, gr. 16.91; β) Naville X, June 1925, No. 775, Pl. 26, gr. 17.01; γ) Naville X, June 1925, No. 779, Pl. 27, gr. 17.01 = Cahn Sale 65, Oct. 1929, No. 252, Pl. 8, gr. 17.2; δ) London (Gardner No. 18), gr. 17.11.
P96. Copenhagen, gr. 16.89.
P97. Dr. E. P. Robinson, gr. 17.13.

SERIES I

GROUP A, 305–304 B. C.

The initial coinage at Seleucia in the name of Seleucus I was, as might have been expected, of very considerable extent.

Although only four specimens of the gold stater (No. 1) are actually known to the writer, it required four obverse and four reverse dies to produce them, showing clearly how poorly represented this gold issue must be today. The tetradrachms, on the other hand, have survived in greater bulk. For the three known varieties of this denomination, eighteen obverse and fifty reverse dies are known. But, as every new specimen turning up almost invariably gives us a new reverse die, we can only surmise the real extent of the issue. Furthermore, although there are sixty recorded specimens, these fall into no less than fifty die combinations, of which only eleven are represented by more than one extant coin. Thus, the comparative poverty of our present-day material is again revealed.

Obviously, Seleucus was desirous of issuing his new coinage in sufficient quantity to replace as soon as might be the old coins bearing the names of Alexander and

Philip III. In charge of the initial production was the magistrate signing himself ΜΡ. At first, he alone supervises the gold (No. 1), silver (No. 2) and bronze (Nos. 6, 7) issues, but the required extent of the coinage was apparently more than he could manage single-handed, and assistants were soon added—three for the silver (cf. Nos. 3–5) and one for the bronze (cf. No. 8).

Since the types employed by Seleucus for his gold and silver are well known from the preceding masses of Alexander coins, there is little need of comment. The gold staters (No. 1) are in type, style and fabric but the direct continuation of what had previously been issued from the mint at Babylon. Only in the arrangement of the inscription is there an innovation. On the Alexander staters of Babylon, when the title is added to the name, the invariable scheme is: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. On the new issues of Seleucus, however, the schematic arrangement is: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

The gold, as well as the tetradrachms of Group A, is closest in style and fabric to the latest issues of Babylon. Just as on all the tetradrachms of Alexander struck at Babylon, there is no exergual line on the reverse, and a cushion beneath the seated Zeus is more often present than absent. The only noticeable innovation is that on a few dies (*P9*, *P13*, *P30*, *P31*, *P39*) there is no back to the throne. The coins are all struck from loose dies. As K interchanges with ΔΙ and ⊕, this letter cannot represent a date (as was suggested by Percy Gardner,[13] and justly refuted by Babelon[14]), but must be a magistrate's initial.

The mint at Babylon had apparently never previously coined in copper.[15] Hence, Seleucia had no precedent to follow, and entirely new types were chosen (Nos. 6–8, PLATE III, 1–5). On the obverse we see a handsome head of Athena wearing a close fitting, crested helmet of Attic form, in contradistinction to the Corinthian form[16]—a type peculiar to the gold staters. The reverse is adorned with a humped bull to right, his forelegs braced stiffly before him, his head partially lowered. Sometimes, as on PLATE III, 1, the head is not markedly lowered, and the left foreleg seems to be pawing at the ground, as if in rage and defiance.

The sudden appearance on the bronze coins of such a type[17] must have had some

[13] Brit. Mus. Cat., *Kings of Syria*, p. 2, No. 20.

[14] *Les rois de Syrie, etc.*, Introd., p. xxxviii.

[15] To the writer, no copper coins of the Alexander type are known to exist which can be assigned to Babylon, from the date of its conquest by Alexander in 331 down to 305 B. C. Small change was obviously furnished by the numerous silver obols and half-obols which were issued from time to time and which bear the accustomed Babylonian mint-marks.

[16] Cf. the interesting article by Dr. Lederer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. XXXIII, 1921, pp. 198–200, dealing with these two types of helmet which sometimes appear on connected issues of coins. The present coinage furnishes still another instance of such a juxtaposition.

[17] These copper coins have been attributed by Wroth, Brit. Mus. Cat., *Pontus, etc.*, p. 109, Nos. 3, 4, Pl. XXV, 2, followed by the *Recueil général des monnaies d'Asie Mineure*, I², 1908, p. 247, No. 2, Pl. XXXVII, 6,

definite allusion, known to all beholders. With Eckhel,[18] the present writer would here see a direct reference to what must have been a wide-spread story told of Seleucus' prowess. It is best presented to us in Appian,[19] who states: "He (Seleucus) was of such a large and powerful frame that once when a wild bull was brought for sacrifice to Alexander and broke loose from his ropes, Seleucus held him alone, with nothing but his hands, for which reason his statues are ornamented with horns."[20] Babelon, however, would see[21] in this story merely a later tale concocted to explain the bull's horns so often to be noted on the portraits of Seleucus. The attitude of the bull on our coins would seem to be best explained by accepting the story as related by Appian. For the animal is not here depicted in the act of butting —its more usual representation on Seleucid coins—but its stance does actually suggest the wild bull of Appian's tale, just broken from its bands and defiantly facing the man approaching to overpower it.

GROUP B, *c.* 304–303 B. C.

The issues of this group are characterized by a wreath of myrtle, laurel or olive leaves encircling the monogram of the chief magistrate. Whether or not this fact had any historical significance can hardly be proved. Its presence may simply have served to differentiate the issues of this year from those preceding. Furthermore, the practice of encircling the chief magistrate's monogram with a wreath had previously been employed at Babylon over a long period.[22] On the other hand, the sudden presence of the wreath, where previously for several years there had been none, is at least suggestive. If our proposed dating is accepted, this particular issue would fall about 304–3 B. C., or just when the news of Seleucus' successes in the East,[23] and his recovery of distant Persian provinces, must have reached Babylonia.

to Apamea-Myrlea in Bithynia. The style and fabric of the coins, however, are typically Seleucid, and autonomous coins very seldom, if ever, have the name of the minting city rendered by a monogram only. Furthermore, the monogram itself cannot be made to resolve itself into MYPAEA, as the *upsilon* is entirely missing, and the monogram contains an *eta* which does not occur in the city's name. The anchor in the field of No. 7 proves the coin to be a royal Seleucid issue, and not autonomous. Finally, and this is surely the deciding factor, specimens of No. 6 were later re-used as blanks upon which to strike Nos. 15 and 18.

[18] *Doctr. num. vet.*, Vol. III, p. 213.

[19] *Syr.* 57. Aelian, Libanius and Codinus also know the story.

[20] Translation by Horace White, Loeb Classical Library.

[21] *Les rois de Syrie*, Introd., p. xxxii. Babelon here speaks with regard to the other bulls which appear so frequently on Seleucid coins—for the present pieces were not recognized by him as being of Seleucid origin. He suggests, as an explanation of the type on the coins of Seleucus I, an allusion to the famous bull Nandi of India, *Personification*, as he says, *de l'Inde comme les éléphants*. Hence, he regards the type as an allusion to Seleucus' campaigns in India. It seems very doubtful to the present writer that the Greeks, at this time, would think of personifying India by means of the bull, especially as to them the elephant appeared a far more striking and characteristic animal. In any case, no reference to India can have been intended on our particular coins because they were introduced *previous* to Seleucus' invasion of India. According to older historians (Bevan, Bouché-Leclercq, etc.), Seleucus signed the peace with Chandragupta in 302 B. C., just before he returned in haste to join Lysimachus in Asia Minor. Beloch, *loc. cit.*, p. 142, footnote 2, assigns this event to 304–3 B. C.

[22] Müller, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 709–49.

[23] Beloch, *loc. cit.*, p. 142, footnote 2, places the peace with Chandragupta "in the summer of 304 or at the latest in the following winter."

There was now also a re-introduction of the gold stater (Nos. 10 and 11), which this time bears the subordinate's initial (K) as well as the monogram of the chief magistrate. Curiously enough, one of these staters (No. 11) displays the name of Alexander instead of that of Seleucus. The temporary change in the arrangement and content of the inscription on No. 11, back to what they had been under Alexander himself, clearly suggests a deliberate copying of an earlier coin for some definite purpose. Can it be that it was thus intended to link the names of Alexander and of Seleucus, the two great conquerors of the East? In the course of our studies we shall have occasion to comment on numerous other and yet more obvious allusions to the great Alexander, conqueror *par excellence* and the chosen model of Seleucid sovereigns.

The close association of Group B with A is shown not only by their common style and fabric, but also by the continued use of obverse die A in the production of the staters (Nos. 10 and 11), and of obverse dies A14, A15, A18 in that of the tetradrachms (Nos. 9 and 12). Discovery of further specimens of these coins will doubtless add to the number of instances of such re-use. The scanty number of examples which have survived bearing the subordinate's signature ΔΙ is noticeable. The fact that obverse die A15, associated with his issues in Group A, is here found used with three reverse dies signed by K (*P55*, *P56*, *P57*), having in each case the new initial recut over the former ΔΙ, is significant of the procedure followed in the mint at this time.

GROUP C, *c.* 303–302 B. C.

The heavy coinage of tetradrachms in Groups A and B seems now to have slowed production, and the present quantity is much reduced. Only two obverse (A22, A23) and five reverse dies (*P67*, *P68*, *P69*, *P70*, *P71*) are known, while the number of actual specimens recorded has fallen to eight. Corresponding staters appear to be entirely lacking.

Of particular interest is the sudden appearance in Zeus' right hand, on these tetradrachms, of a tiny winged victory, facing to right and offering the god a wreath. On the other hand, the monogram ⋈ is no longer surrounded by a wreath—possibly because that position, encircling the monogram of a mere magistrate, was not so significant and the presence of the symbol was actually rendered unnecessary by the more telling symbolism of the victory in Zeus' hand. Coming as it does at this particular juncture in the coinage, the allusion is obviously to the successes which Seleucus had gained (or wished his subjects to believe that he had gained), in the eastern portions of his empire.

What the apparent sequence and dating of the silver coins suggest, the types now chosen for a fresh issue of bronze coins render certain. For it is at this very point that a completely new coinage of bronze, in two denominations, makes its appearance (Nos. 15–18). The obverses still present the head of Athena, but now wearing a helmet of Corinthian instead of Attic form. The reverse type of both denominations is a splendid Indian elephant, which appears for the first time on Seleucid

coinages. Its obvious connection with Seleucus' Indian campaign and, above all, with his impressive acquisition from Chandragupta of five hundred war elephants can hardly be escaped. That the new bronze issue surely accompanied the tetradrachms of Group C is obvious from the fact that the monogram ⋈ is without the encircling wreath on both the silver and the bronzes, while the accompanying magistrate B, found on the bronze coins Nos. 15 to 16, probably represents the same person as the BE of the tetradrachm No. 14. Thus, the two peculiarities—the victory on the silver, the elephant on the bronzes—together with their particular position in our sequence of issues, show the connection of Group C with Seleucus' eastern successes to be practically certain.

It may be surmised, therefore, that the wreath in Group B may refer only to Seleucus' recovery of the easternmost Persian provinces. It could hardly have been until news of his peace with Chandragupta and the acquisition of the elephants had reached Seleucia, that the innovations represented by the Nike and the elephant would have appeared on the coins of that mint. Assuming that it would take at least a little time to prepare the new dies, their position in our sequence of issues brings their appearance between 303 and 302 at the earliest. This fact supports Beloch's dating (cf. IV. 1, p. 142) of the Peace Treaty in 304/3 B. C., as against that of earlier writers.

The new bronze coinage was apparently issued in considerable quantities. Not only are many specimens now known, but two additional subordinates, P and ⍋, had to be appointed to assist the original incumbents. The coinage, furthermore, was either brought out in somewhat of a hurry, or the facilities of the mint were not adequate to the occasion, for several of our specimens are restruck upon coins of the previous issues. This suggests that old coins were employed as blanks without waiting to prepare a sufficient quantity of fresh flans. From an official standpoint, the sooner the attention of the general public could be focussed on the king's eastern victories the better. Hence the obvious haste in the production of humble bronze coins bearing the symbolic type of the Indian elephant.

GROUP D, *c.* 302–301 B. C.

With Group D, entirely new magistrates have been appointed to supervise the mint at Seleucia, but the connection with previous issues is kept up by the continued employment of some of the former die-cutters. Thus, for instance, the man who cut A24 (PLATE IV, 12) is surely the same artist who had produced A16 (PLATE II, 10–11).

As no small silver denominations had as yet appeared at Seleucia, and as the last small silver of the Alexander type from the Babylon mint[24] was by now from ten to twenty-eight years old, it is not surprising that we should here meet with a coinage of fractional silver pieces to bridge the gap between bronze and tetradrachms.

[24] In name of Alexander: cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, Nos. 668, 675, 676, 806, 1273, 1274, together with numerous varieties not known to Müller. In name of Philip III: cf. *op. cit.*, Nos. 31, 32, 104a, together with some varieties not known to Müller.

Only three specimens have so far come down to us—two hemidrachms (No. 20) and one obol (No. 21).

There are also several other unusual features connected with this particular group. Each of the tetradrachms, Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26, bears the signature of one magistrate only instead of two, as had been the practice heretofore. That these issues all belong to one coinage may be seen not only in the identity of their style and fabric, but also by the use in common of such obverse dies as A25, A26 and A27.

About halfway through the issue, for some reason or other, the victory in Zeus' hand was temporarily omitted and the former (and long sanctioned) eagle substituted (on Nos. 24 and 25). But before the coinage had ended, the victory was replaced (on No. 26). Perhaps its happy symbolism of success was more obvious to Seleucus' subjects than the eagle. It must also be remembered that, if the dates here proposed for the several groups be correct, then, before the end of this issue (Group D, *c.* 302–1 B. C.), the glorious news of the decisive victory won by Seleucus and his ally Lysimachus over the powerful Antigonus at Ipsus must have reached Seleucia. This would surely have been quite sufficient reason to cause the hasty replacement of the Nike figure on the coinage!

In addition to the pieces described in our catalogue, there exists a variety of the tetradrachm, known only by a single specimen in Paris (Babelon, No. 26, gr. 17.20, Pl. i, 10), which by the monogram ⛧ and the letters BEΛ which it bears, should fall into our Seleucia series. The monogram occurs with slight variations—but all obviously representing the common name Ζώπυρος—on Nos. 22, 25, 27; while BEΛ might well be the BE of No. 14, and the B of Nos. 15 to 16. But the style, fabric and general appearance have not the slightest similarity with those of the remaining tetradrachms of our mint. If we assume that the monogram and the letters actually do represent the same persons who had supervised the issue of Nos. 14, 15, 16, 22, 25, 27, then we must suppose: either that the dies of the Paris coin were cut by an entirely different die-cutter from those generally employed at Seleucia, or that the two magistrates in question had been sent to some other city where they employed a local die-cutter to produce the Paris tetradrachm. Parenthetically, it may be stated that the writer knows of no other tetradrachm of Seleucus which is at all similar to this one. Neither is there any indication that the coin is an ancient or a modern forgery. For the time being, therefore, it must remain an anomaly and an enigma.

GROUP E, *c.* 301–300 B. C.

With this group, the former practice of placing the signatures of two magistrates upon each coin is resumed. Zopyros continues in office with two assistants, M and ΔI (the latter possibly the same person who had previously placed his initials on Nos. 4 and 9). The Nike continues on the tetradrachms, following her reappearance on the final tetradrachm of the preceding issue.

HOARDS

From the presence in known hoards of any of the Seleucian tetradrachms described above, little can be deduced. An example of No. 9 was in the Kiouleler hoards;[25] five specimens of No. 4 were in the hoard from Babylonia once owned by Prof. Haynes;[26] one specimen each of Nos. 4, 14, 19 and 27 was in the Armenak Hoard[27]—but none of these hoards were buried before *c.* 280 B. C., and so can furnish us with little new information concerning the Seleucian tetradrachms. Still more so is this the case with Gejou's Mesopotamian hoard,[28] which contained a specimen of No. 4, but which was not buried until the reign of Seleucus II. On the other hand, a specimen of No. 3, one of No. 4, one of No. 12, and two of No. 24 (these last in extremely fine condition) turned up in the Angora Hoard[29] and serve to date that particular deposit. Their presence therein would suggest a burial not long after the battle of Ipsus, probably during the period of re-adjustment when Seleucid forces were taking over this portion of Antigonus' empire. The re-adjustment may have been not entirely peaceful, thus accounting for the burial.

SERIES II, *c.* 300–280 B. C.

GROUP A, *c.* 300–299 B. C.

29. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r., with long locks of hair. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Helmeted and draped Athena, holding shield in outstretched l. and brandishing javelin in upraised r., standing in chariot drawn by four horned elephants to r. Above, anchor. Behind Athena, B. Beneath anchor, ΔΙ.

A31—*P98*. α) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.28; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.09. PLATE VI, 1.

GROUP B, *c.* 299–298 B. C.

30. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, ΠΣ.

A32—*P99*. α) London, gr. 14.87; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.34. PLATE VI, 3; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 66), gr. 17.00. PLATE VI, 2.

[25] S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 78, Hoards 563 and 564.

[26] *Op. cit.*, Hoard 118.

[27] This very remarkable hoard, containing nearly two thousand tetradrachms and drachms of Alexander III, Philip III, Lysimachus and Seleucus I, was found somewhere in Asia Minor in 1927. It is said to have come from near Armenak in southern Asia Minor, but the writer has been unable to verify this report. A study of its contents proves that it must have been buried in, or shortly after, 280 B. C. Cf. Noe, *op. cit.*, Hoard 67.

[28] S. P. Noe, *op. cit.*, Hoard 680.

[29] S. P. Noe, *op. cit.*, Hoard 51.

31. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Above the anchor, Π. To r. of anchor, Σ.

A32—*P100*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Ward Coll., No. 765, Pl. xviii = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 690, Pl. ix), gr. 17.24. PLATE VI, 4.

32. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. To r. of anchor, Π. In the exergue, Π (or 𐤐 ?).

A33—*P101*. Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.49. PLATE VI, 5.

33. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. To r. of elephants, Σ.

A34—*P102*. London (Gardner No. 29), gr. 17.20. PLATE VI, 6.

34. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, Π and uncertain monogram (𐤐 ?).

A34—*P103*. Berlin, gr. 16.445. PLATE VI, 7.

35. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, 𐤀Σ (or 𐤀Σ).

A35—*P104*. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.36. PLATE VI, 8.

36. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as the preceding, but slightly retouched in the locks about the neck. | Similar to the preceding. To r. of elephants, Σ. In the exergue, 𐤀(?).

A35—*P105*. Berlin, gr. 17.17. PLATE VI, 9.

GROUP C, *c.* 298–297 B. C.

37. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, 𐤒 above 𐤓.

A36—*P106*. Newell, gr. 16.77. PLATE VI, 10.

38. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, 𐤀 𐤓.

A36—*P107*. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.43. PLATE VI, 11.

GROUP D, *c.* 297–296 B. C.

39. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Die A36 is continued in use, but now in a very worn and damaged condition. | Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, ΔN.

A36—*P108*. Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.98. PLATE VI, 12.
A37—*P108*. Paris (Babelon, No. 70), gr. 16.90. PLATE VII, 1.

40. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath the anchor (on *P109*), NI. On die *P110*, NI is above the anchor. In the exergue, ΔN.

A38—*P109*. Berlin (Fox Coll., from Whittall), gr. 16.91. PLATE VII, 2.
P110. London (Gardner, No. 27), gr. 16.62. PLATE VII, 3.

41. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath Athena's l. arm, NΔ.

A39—*P111*. α) De Nanteuil Coll., No. 487, Pl. xxx (Helbing Sale, Nov. 1928, No. 4056, Pl. 73), gr. 16.75; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.34. PLATE VII, 4.
P112. London (Gardner, No. 28), gr. 17.00.
P113. Newell (Haynes), gr. 15.31.

42. DRACHM.

Head of young Heracles r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the r. Zeus seated l. on throne, holding eagle in outstretched r. and resting l. on sceptre. In l. field, anchor. Beneath throne, NΔ.

α) Newell (Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1033), gr. 3.94; β) Berlin (Konsul Strauss), gr. 4.09. PLATE VII, 5; γ) Athens (Sophiko Hoard).

GROUP E, *c.* 296–295 B. C.

43. STATER.

Head of Athena, with flowing locks, to r. wearing a triple-crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Victory standing, facing l., holds wreath in her outstretched r. and *stylis* in l. To l. of her r. wing,  . Beneath r. wing,  . Beneath l. wing,  .

E —*g*. Newell (Sir Herman Weber Coll., No. 7827, Pl. 285), gr. 8.61. PLATE VII, 6.

44. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus r., and the same die as No. 41.

Athena r. in quadriga of elephants as on No. 41. Behind Athena, . In front of Athena,  .

A39—*P114*. Paris (Babelon, No. 65), gr. 16.30. PLATE VII, 7.

45. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Horned head of horse r. Circle of dots.

Anchor, inverted. On l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. To r., .

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 59, Pl. ii, 13), gr. 14.90; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 10.26; γ) Leningrad (*Jour. Int. Num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 134, No. 49), gr. 16.72; δ) London, gr. 14.51; ε) *Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 6, No. 9, gr. 7.73; ζ) Congreg. der Mechitaristen in Wien, *Num. Zeitschr.*, XVI, 1884, p. 292, No. 146, gr. 16.40; ζ) Newell, gr. 15.54. PLATE VII, 8.

46. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 62, Pl. ii, 16), gr. 4.35; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 3.49; γ) London (Gardner, No. 47, Pl. ii, 6), gr. 3.01; δ) Leningrad (*Jour. Int. Num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 134, No. 50), gr. 4.18; ϵ–σ) *Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 6, No. 9, fifteen specimens ranging in weight from gr. 4.00 to 2.08; τ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, 1909, No. 2860), gr. 3.41. PLATE VII, 9; υ) Newell, gr. 3.64.

GROUP F, *c.* 295–294 B. C.

47. STATER.

Similar to No. 43. Similar to No. 43, except that ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is on the r., and ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ is on the l. Beneath r. wing of Nike, ⋈; beneath l. wing, ⚓.

F —*h.* α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 751, Pl. 25, gr. 8.58; β) London (Gardner, No. 1, Pl. i), gr. 8.56. PLATE VII, 10.

48. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus r. Circle of dots. Inscription and types as on No. 44. In the exergue, ⚓ ⋈.

A40—*P115.* Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.19. PLATE VII, 11.

48A. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding but the monograms in the exergue are in the inverse order.

A40a—*P115a.* Newell (from Baghdad), gr. 16.85. PLATE LVI, 17.

49. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 48. Similar to the preceding, except that ⚓ is to the r. of the king's name, and ⋈ is beneath.

A40—*P116.* Newell (Haynes), gr. 15.83. PLATE VII, 12.
P117. Cahn Sale 84, 1933, No. 404, Pl. 14, gr. 17.00.

50. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, except that ⋈ is to r. of the king's name, and ⚓ is beneath.

A41—*P118.* Paris (Babelon, No. 67), gr. 17.00. PLATE VII, 13.
A42—*P118.* Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.76. PLATE VII, 14.
P119. Otto Coll., A. Hess, Lucerne, Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 639, Pl. 15, gr. 16.39.

51. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, ⚓ Ε.

A43—*P120.* Fenerly Bey Coll. (Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 637, Pl. xvii), gr. 16.83. PLATE VII, 15.

51A. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Above the elephants, ⚓; in front, ΙΣ.

A43—*P120a.* Newell, gr. 17.17, PLATE LVI, 18.

GROUP G, *c.* 294–293 B. C.

52. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. To r. of anchor, ⋈ (?). In the exergue, AP.

A44—*P121.* α) Berlin, gr. 17.09; β) Ratto Sale, Oct. 1934, No. 231, Pl. vii, gr. 16.80. PLATE VIII, 1.

53. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but with both (?) monograms in the exergue.

A44—*P122.* Newell (Haynes), gr. 15.98. PLATE VIII, 2.
P123. α) Newell (South Serbian Hoard, 1925, Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 959), gr. 16.75.

54. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. To r. of the anchor, ⊢P. In the exergue, AP.

A45—*P124.* Newell, gr. 16.56. PLATE VIII, 3.

GROUP H, *c.* 293–292 B. C.

55. TETRADRACHM.

From a previous die, now in a worn condition. Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, Δ ⋈.

A41—*P125.* Newell (Haynes), gr. 15.75. PLATE VIII, 4.

56. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, apparently only ⋈.

A46—*P126.* α) Paris (Babelon, No. 68), gr. 16.90; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.48. PLATE VIII, 5.

57. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, ⋈ Δ.

A47—*P127.* α) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.26; β) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1418, gr. 16.9, Pl. 50, PLATE VIII, 6.

58. OBOL.

Tripod-lebes with cover. Circle of dots. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. of an inverted anchor. On l. of shaft, Δ; on r., ⋈.

α) Pozzi Coll. (Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2926, Pl. lxxxiv), gr. 0.67; β) Naville X, June 1925, No. 809, Pl. 27, gr. 0.64; γ) Naville X, June 1925, No. 810, Pl. 27, gr. 0.57; δ) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 410, gr. 0.62, Pl. 13; ε) Newell, gr. 0.63; ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 58, Pl. ii, 12, gr. 0.65; ζ) London (Gardner, No. 42, Pl. ii, 2), gr. 0.65;[30] η) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 773), gr. 0.57. PLATE VIII, 7; θ) Cambridge, McClean Coll., Vol. III, p. 325, No. 9245, gr. 0.52, Pl. 335, 11.

[30] Specimens ζ, ζ and θ are described in their respective catalogues as having ⋈ or K for the second monogram. Actually they are all ⋈, badly formed. The coins are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

59. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to Nos. 55–57. | Similar to Nos. 55–57. To r. of the elephants, ⋈. In the exergue, ⋈.

A48—*P128*. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.19. PLATE VIII, 8.

60. OBOL.

Similar to No. 58, but the tripod has fillets hanging on either side. | Similar to No. 58. On l., ⋈; on r., ⊟.

α) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani, 1925, Pl. 13, No. 738 (= Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1034, Pl. 16), gr. 0.62; β) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, 1912, No. 635, Pl. xvii, gr. 0.59; γ) Naville X, June 1925, No. 811, Pl. 27, gr. 0.59; δ) Naville X, June 1925, No. 812, Pl. 27, gr. 0.60; ε) Newell, gr. 0.68; ϛ) Newell, gr. 0.52. PLATE VIII, 9; ζ) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Ward Coll., No. 772), gr. 0.54; η) R. Jameson Coll., No. 1659, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 0.62.

61. OBOL.

Tripod similar to No. 58. Circle of dots. | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Quiver and bow. In outer l. field, I; in outer r. field, ⊟. Circle of dots.

α) R. Jameson Coll., No. 1660, Pl. lxxxiii (= American Collector, Sotheby Sale, April 1909, No. 76, Pl. iii), gr. 0.63; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 813, gr. 0.61, Pl. 27; γ) Berlin, gr. 0.60. PLATE VIII, 10.

GROUP I, *c.* 292–291 B. C.

62. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as No. 57. | Similar to No. 59. In the exergue, Δ⊙.

A47—*P129*. α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 785, Pl. 27, gr. 15.96. PLATE VIII, 11; β) Dr. Arthur S. Dewing, gr. 17.02.

A49—*P130*. α) Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch XIII, 1905, No. 4430, Pl. lv, gr. 17.1; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.50. PLATE VIII, 12.

63. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, Δ. In the exergue, ⊙.

A49—*P131*. α) Stockholm (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 815, Pl. 27), gr. 16.42; β) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.74. PLATE VIII, 13.

A50—*P132*. Paris (Babelon, No. 69), gr. 17.00. PLATE VIII, 14.

64. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⊙. In front of Athena's shield, Δ.

A51—*P133*. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 784, Pl. 27 (= Headlam Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1916, No. 432a, Pl. x), gr. 16.85. PLATE VIII, 15.

A52—*P134*. Vienna, gr. 16.90. PLATE VIII, 16. The *delta* on this specimen has more the form of an *alpha*, due to the large pellets placed at its three corners.

65. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⊙.

A52—*P135*. Pozzi Coll., Naville I, Apr. 1921, No. 2918, gr. 15.53, Pl. lxxxv. PLATE VIII, 17.
P136. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.36.

66. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Heavy corrosion has obliterated the letters or monograms once in the exergue. Hence, the true position of this variety is uncertain.

A53—*P137*. Munich, gr. 16.80.

GROUP J, *c.* 291–290 B. C.

67. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ΜΜ above ΜΜ.

A54—*P138*. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.43. PLATE IX, 1.

GROUP K, *c.* 290–289 B. C.

68. STATER.
Helmeted head of Athena, as before, to r.

On r. ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. No title. Nike, as before, to l. On l., Ⓐ above Ⓐ.

G —*i*. Paris (Babelon, No. 1), gr. 8.65. PLATE IX, 2.

69. TETRADRACHM.
Laureate head of Zeus, as before, to r. within a circle of dots.

Types and inscriptions as on the preceding tetradrachms. The nearest elephant wears a bell suspended from its neck. Behind Athena, Ⓐ; beneath anchor, Ⓐ.

A55—*P139*. α) Vienna; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 783, Pl. 27, gr. 17.06. PLATE IX, 3.

70. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath Athena's shield, Ⓐ.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 4.01. PLATE IX, 4.

71. TETRADRACHM.
From the same die as No. 69.

Similar to the preceding. Above Athena's shield, Ⓐ; below the shield, ΜΜ.

A55—*P140*. London (Gardner, No. 25, Pl. i, 7), gr. 16.98. PLATE IX, 5.

71A. DRACHM.
From the same die as No. 70.

Similar to the preceding. Above shield, ΜΜ. Beneath shield, Ⓐ.

Newell, gr. 4.04. PLATE IX, 5a.

72. DRACHM.
From the same die as No. 70.

Similar to the preceding. To the r. of Athena's shield, Ⓐ.

Berlin, gr. 4.06. PLATE IX, 6. From the same obverse die as Nos. 70 and 71A.

73. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but without the bell. Above Athena's shield, ⅄ (?). This monogram is not absolutely certain as the three known specimens are much corroded. In style, the coins fit in at this place, whatever the monogram.

α) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 638, Pl. xvii, gr. 3.19; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 3.07; γ) London, gr. 3.99. PLATE IX, 7.
All are struck from the same obverse and reverse dies.

GROUP L, *c.* 289–288 B. C.

74. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 71.

Similar to the preceding issue, but without bell. Behind Athena, ⊙. In front of the anchor, Ⓐ.

A56—*P141.* α) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.19; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.39. PLATE IX, 8.

75. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To l. of anchor, ⅄; to r. of anchor, ⊙.

A57—*P142.* Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.59. PLATE IX, 9.
A58—*P143.* Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1419, Pl. 50 (= Grant Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 3rd. Ser., Vol. I, 1881, p. 11, Pl. ii, No. 2), gr. 16.60.

76. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with bell. Behind Athena, ⅄. Above Athena's shield, ⊙.

A59—*P144.* α) Newell, gr. 16.61; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 15.85. PLATE IX, 10.
P145. Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1062, Pl. 36, gr. 16.88.

77. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but without bell. Behind Athena, ⅄. Beneath shield, ⊙.

Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 4.075. PLATE IX, 11.

78. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⊙. Beneath shield, ⅄.

A60—*P146.* Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.12. PLATE IX, 12.

79. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above the elephants, ⅄ ⊙.

A61—*P147.* A. Cahn Sale 75, May 1932, No. 394, gr. 15.94, Pl. 11. PLATE IX, 13.
P148. Hess Sale 208, Dec. 1931, No. 679, Pl. 11, gr. 16.17.

80. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Above the elephants, ⩚ ⊙.

α) A. Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 515, Pl. 16, gr. 4.13; β) Newell (Gejou), gr. 3.72; γ) Newell, gr. 3.54. PLATE IX, 14; δ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 767), gr. 3.71.

GROUP M, *c.* 288–287 B. C.

81. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⩚. Below shield, ⊙.

A62—*P149.* Newell, gr. 15.97.
P150. Paris (Babelon, No. 64, Pl. iii, 1), gr. 17.10. PLATE IX, 15.
A63—*P150.* Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 16.955. PLATE IX, 16.

82. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⩚. Beneath shield, ⊙.

α) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 411, Pl. 13, gr. 4.15; β) Newell (Naville Sale XII, 1926, No. 1942, Pl. 56), gr. 4.19. PLATE IX, 17; γ) London (Gardner, No. 30), gr. 4.15; δ) Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 632, Pl. xviii, gr. 4.26; ε) Newell (Gejou), gr. 3.82; ζ) Newell, gr. 4.19. PLATE X, 1a; ζ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.) gr. 4.13. PLATE X, 1; η) Glasgow, Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 5, No. 3, gr. 4.15.
α, β and γ are from the same obverse die. δ, ε and ζ are from another obverse die.

83. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, except that Athena is in an elephant *biga*. Behind Athena, ⩚. Beneath shield, ⊙.

α) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (J. Ward Coll., No. 768), gr. 2.01. PLATE X, 2; β) Probably also Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, 1913, No. 639, Pl. xvii, gr. 1.97.

84. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 81. Similar to No. 81. Behind Athena, ⊙. Beneath shield, ⩚.

A64—*P152.* Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.85. PLATE X, 3.
P153. Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 837, Pl. 25 (= Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 636, Pl. xvii, gr. 16.51), gr. 16.48.

85. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⊙. Beneath shield, ⩚.

α) Pozzi Coll., Naville I, Apr. 1921, No. 2919, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 3.85. PLATE X, 4; β) Newell (from Baghdad), gr. 4.17.

86. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to No. 83, with Athena in the elephant *biga*. Behind Athena, ⊙. Beneath shield, ⩚.

α) Newell (purchased in Baghdad), gr. 1.92. PLATE X, 5; β) Berlin, gr. 1.93. From the same reverse die as the preceding.

87. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 84. Similar to No. 84. Beneath shield, Ⓐ ⊙.

A61—*P154*. Newell, gr. 16.85. PLATE X, 8.

A63—*P155*. Bement Coll., Naville VII, June 1924, No. 1666, Pl. 57 (= Cumberland Clark Coll., Sotheby, Jan. 1914, No. 258, Pl. vii), gr. 16.76. PLATE X, 6.

A65—*P156*. α) Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 631, Pl. xviii, gr. 16.68; β) London (Gardner, No. 26), gr. 16.37. PLATE X, 7.

88. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Beneath shield, Ⓐ ⊙.

α) Berlin, gr. 3.865; β) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 734, Pl. 13, gr. 4.00; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 72), gr. 3.90. PLATE X, 9; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 789, Pl. 26, gr. 4.10.

α, β, γ and δ are all from the same obverse die as No. 89.

89. DRACHM.

Same die as the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Beneath shield, ⊙ Ⓐ.

α) London, gr. 3.62; β) Newell, gr. 3.65. PLATE X, 10.

α and β are from the same pair of dies.

90. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but beneath shield apparently only ⊙.

α) Newell (Gejou), gr. 4.07; β) Newell (Gejou), gr. 4.03. PLATE X, 11; γ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 766, fig.), gr. 3.76.

α and β from the same obverse die.

91. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but with no monogram or letter at all.

α) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2783, Pl. lxxvi, gr. 3.86; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 788, Pl. 26, gr. 3.58. PLATE X, 12.

GROUP N, *c.* 287–286 B. C.

92. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 87. Similar to No. 87. Behind Athena, Ⓐ. Beneath shield, ⊙.

A66—*P157*. Newell, gr. 15.65. PLATE X, 13.

93. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, Ⓐ. Beneath shield, ⊙.

α) Newell (Gejou), gr. 4.08. PLATE X, 14; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 791, Pl. 26, gr. 3.42; γ) Cambridge, McClean Coll., Vol. III, p. 325, No. 9241, Pl. 335, 6, gr. 3.80.

94. DRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, Ⓐ. Above shield, ⊙.

Newell, gr. 3.75. PLATE X, 15.

95. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 92.

Similar to No. 92. Behind Athena, Ⓐ above ⊙. The near elephant has a bell.

A66—*P158*. Glasgow, Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 5, No. 1, gr. 17.41, Pl. lxiii, 7.

96. DRACHM.

From the same die as No. 94.

Similar to the preceding, but without bell. Beneath shield, Ⓐ ⊙.

α) Benson Coll., Sotheby, Feb. 1909, No. 755, Pl. xxv, gr. 4.08; β) Newell, gr. 4.00. PLATE X, 16; γ) Cambridge, McClean Coll., Vol. III, p. 325, No. 9240, Pl. 335, 5, gr. 4.12.
α to γ are from the same obverse and reverse dies. The obverse die is the same as that used for Nos. 93, 94 and 97.

97. DRACHM.

From the same die as Nos. 93, 94 and 96.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath shield, ⊙. In the exergue, Ⓐ.

α) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1424, Pl. 50, gr. 4.1. PLATE X, 17.

98. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but Athena is in a *biga* of elephants. Behind Athena ⊙. In front of the elephants, Ⓐ.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 792, Pl. 26 (= Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 634, Pl. xviii), gr. 1.52; β) Newell, gr. 2.11. PLATE X, 18; γ) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 352), gr. 2.00.

99. OBOL.

Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned l., holds eagle in outstretched r. and rests l. upon sceptre. In l. field, Ⓐ. Beneath throne, ⊙.

α) Newell, gr. 0.68. PLATE X, 19.

GROUP O, *c.* 286–285 B. C.

100. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Zeus r., similar to No. 95.

Athena r. in elephant quadriga as on No. 95. Beneath shield, PENTALPHA. To r. of anchor, ⊙.

A67—*P159*. α) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.41; β) Sally Rosenberg Sale 72, July 1932, No. 720, Pl. 12 (= Cahn Sale 68, Nov. 1930, No. 1517, Pl. 33) gr. 17.05; γ) Vogel Coll., Hess Sale, March 1929, No. 382, Pl. x, gr. 16.65. PLATE X, 20.

101. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Immediately beneath the shield, PENTALPHA and ⊙.

A68—*P160.* George J. Bauer Coll. (= Naville X, June 1925, No. 782, Pl. 27), gr. 15.70. PLATE XI, 1.
P161. Münzhandlung Basel Sale 4, Oct. 1935, No. 865, Pl. 30, gr. 15.82 (on this specimen the obverse has been tooled in modern times). PLATE XI, 2.

102. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Beneath shield, PENTALPHA and ⊙.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 4.05. PLATE XI, 3.

103. DRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⊙. Below shield, PENTALPHA.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 3.87; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 2.91; γ) Newell, gr. 3.56; δ) Newell (Gejou), gr. 4.01. PLATE XI, 4.
α, β, γ, δ are all from the same obverse die as No. 102.

104. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, PENTALPHA. Below shield, ⊙.

Dr. E. P. Robinson, gr. 4.08. PLATE XI, 5.

105. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. Edges bevelled. | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two parallel lines, between which butting bull to r. Above, ⊙ and PENTALPHA (at times inversely placed).

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 10, No. 38), gr. 5.99; β) London (Gardner, No. 71, Pl. ii, 15) gr. 7.50; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 86, Pl. iii, 8), gr. 6.45; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Num. Zeitschr.*, XXVII, 1895, p. 13, No. 13, Pl. ii, 10), gr. 6.50; ε) Munich, gr. 7.10; ζ–θ) *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 7, No. 11, various weights; ι) Newell (countermarked twice with an anchor in an oblong incuse), gr. 7.37. PLATE XI, 6.

106. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Above, PENTALPHA and ⊙.

α) *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 7, No. 11, gr. 2.49.

107. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge. | Similar to the preceding. Above, ᾘ. Behind bull, ⊙.

α) Munich (*Num. Zeitschr.*, XLVI, 1913, p. 188, No. 69, Pl. iii, 16), gr. 13.67. PLATE XI, 7.

108. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge. | Similar to the preceding. Above, ᾘ. Behind, ⊙.

α) *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 7, No. 11; β) Newell, gr. 7.15. PLATE XI, 8.

108A. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding (?). Actually this is probably an Athena head. See above, p. 14, No. 8. | Similar to the preceding. Above, anchor. This variety is known only from the coins found at Seleucia.

α–β) *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 7, No. 11. These two coins are probably only poorly preserved examples of No. 8, above.

109. BRONZE QUARTER (?).

Similar to Nos. 105–108.

Similar to the preceding. The only recorded specimens are so poor that any possible letters or monograms are indistinguishable.

α–β) *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 7, No. 11, gr. 0.97, 0.68.

GROUP P, *c.* 285–284 B. C.

110. STATER.

Helmeted head of Athena to r., as on No. 68.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Nike to l., as on No. 68. Behind Nike, ⊙ above ⚘.

H —*j*. London (Gardner, No. 2), gr. 8.47. PLATE XI, 9.

111. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Zeus r., as on No. 101.

Athena r. in quadriga of elephants, as on No. 101. Behind Athena, ⚘. To r. of anchor, ⊙.

A69—*P162*. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.54. PLATE. XI, 10.

112. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⚘. To l. of the anchor, ⊙.

A69—*P163*. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.05. PLATE XI, 11.

113. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. The monogram usually behind Athena is off flan. In the exergue, ⊙.

A69—*P164*. Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.39. PLATE XI, 12.

GROUP Q, *c.* 284–283 B. C.

114. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Behind Athena, ⋀. Below shield, ⊙.

A70—*P165*. Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.62. PLATE XI, 13.

115. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath shield, ⋀ ⊙.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 4.00. PLATE XI, 14; β) Munich, gr. 4.10.
α and β are from the same obverse die.

116. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar, but Athena in a *biga* of elephants. Behind Athena, ⅄. Beneath shield, ⊙.

α) Newell (Gejou), gr. 1.96. PLATE XI, 15.

117. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Winged head of Medusa r. Circle of dots. Edges bevelled. | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two parallel lines, between which butting bull to r. Above, ⊙. Between bull's hind legs, ⅄.

α) Newell (Philipsen Sale, Hirsch XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2860), gr. 8.94; β) Newell, gr. 12.11. PLATE XII, 1.

118. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Edges bevelled. | Similar to the preceding. Above, ⊙. Between hind legs of bull, ⅄.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 91), gr. 5.60; β) Munich (*Num. Zeitschr.*, XLVI, 1913, p. 191, No. 90), gr. 5.75; γ) Newell, gr. 5.17. PLATE XII, 2.

119. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Above, ⊙. Between hind legs, ⅄.

α) Glasgow, Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 10, No. 43, Pl. lxiii, 18, gr. 2.43. PLATE XII, 3.

GROUP R, *c.* 283–282 B. C.

120. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus r., as on No. 114. | Similar to No. 114. Beneath shield, ⋈. To r. of anchor, ⊙.

A71—*P166*. Newell, gr. 17.02. PLATE XII, 4.
P167. Duruflé Coll., Rollin & Feuardent Sale, May 1910, No. 607, Pl. xiv.
A72—*P168*. Newell, gr. 17.07. PLATE XII, 5.
P169. Cahn Sale 80, Feb. 1933 No. 381, Pl. 13 (= Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 514, Pl. 16), gr. 17.05. In the reproductions only the ⊙ is visible.

GROUP S, *c.* 282–281 B. C.

121. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. The monogram beneath the shield appears to have the form ⋈ (?). The place to the r. of the anchor where the ⊙ usually appears, is corroded.

A71—*P170*. Schlessinger Sale 11, Feb. 1934, No. 328, Pl. 10, gr. 15.5. PLATE XII, 6.

121A. STATER.

Helmeted head of Athena to r., similar to PLATE IX, 2 and XI, 9. | ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Winged Nike standing to l. At her feet, to l., ⋈; to r., ⊙.

I – *k*. The present location of this specimen is unknown. It formerly belonged to v. Bartholomaei and was later ceded by him to Rollin. Published by Baron von Koehne, *Brief an Herrn, A. von Rauch*, in *Mémoires de la Société Impériale d'archéologie de St. Pétersbourg*, 1850, p. 21, No. 10, Pl. I, 12.

122. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 121.

Similar to No. 121. Beneath the shield, ⊠. To r. of anchor, ⊙.

A73—*P171.* Naville XII, 1926, No. 1941, Pl. 56 (=Bourgey Sale, May 1910, No. 120, Pl. ii), gr. 16.16. PLATE XII, 7.
P172. Munich, gr. 16.95. PLATE XII, 8.

123. TETRADRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath shield, ⊠. In the exergue, ⊙.

A73—*P173.* Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1420, Pl. 50, gr. 16. PLATE XII, 9.

124. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath shield, ⊠ ⊙.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 73), gr. 4.20; β) Egger Sale XXXIX, Jan. 1912, No. 335, Pl. xi, gr. 4.08; γ) Newell, gr. 3.64; δ) Newell, gr. 4.25; ε) Newell, gr. 4.17. PLATE XII, 10; ζ) Glasgow, Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 5, No. 2, gr. 4.21.
α to ε are all struck from the same obverse die.

125. DRACHM.
Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned l., holds eagle on his outstretched r., and rests l. upon sceptre. In field, Anchor upright. Beneath throne, ⊙. In the exergue, ⊠.

α) Newell, gr. 4.17; β) Newell (Ratto Sale, Feb. 1928, No. 739), gr. 4.20. PLATE XII, 11.
α and β are from the same obverse die.

126. DRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. ⊙ above ⊠, and both beneath throne.

α) Newell, gr. 4.18. PLATE XII, 12.

127. DRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above Zeus' r. arm, ⊠. In the exergue, ⊙.

α) Newell (Armenak Hoard), gr. 4.13. PLATE XII, 13.

128. DRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To l. of anchor, ⊙. Beneath throne, ⊠.

α) Newell, gr. 3.08. PLATE XII, 14.

129. DRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To r. of anchor, ⊙. Beneath throne, ⊠.

α) Newell, gr. 4.15. PLATE XII, 15.

130. DRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Directly above anchor, ⊙. Beneath throne, 𐡌𐡐.

α) Newell, gr. 4.09. PLATE XII, 16.

131. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Beneath throne, ⊙. In the exergue, 𐡌𐡐.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 1.82. PLATE XII, 17.

GROUP T. *c.* 281–280 B. C.

132. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. Beneath the throne, ⊙. In the exergue, 𐡐.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 4, Pl. i, 2), gr. 4.30; β) Newell, gr. 4.20. PLATE XII, 18.

133. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. To r. of anchor, ⊙. Beneath throne, 𐡐.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 5, Pl. i, 3), gr. 2.05; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 2.00. PLATE XII, 19; γ) London, gr. 2.02.

SERIES II, *c.* 300–280 B. C.

Seleucus, established by the victory of Ipsus as the ruler over a vast territory stretching from Asia Minor and the Mediterranean to the borders of India, now brought out a more appropriate issue of coins at his capital of Seleucia on the Tigris. The new types proclaim his great triumph more clearly than did those of the old Alexander tetradrachm, even with the presence of a Nike in Zeus' hand. For on the obverse we henceforth find a dignified, laurel-wreathed head of Olympian Zeus, its type evidently inspired by the well-known tetradrachms of Alexander's father, Philip II. To the Greeks this could be only Zeus, "the giver of victory". But in the East, Zeus was the Greek equivalent for Bel,[31] the chief deity of the Babylonians, whence, possibly, his selection for the new issues of Seleucus. There may also have been some special association (which now escapes us) between Seleucus and Zeus, for, at least at a later period, he bore the cult-title Ζεὺς Νικάτωρ.[32]

The reverse of the new coins presents us with a warlike figure of Athena standing in a chariot drawn by four great, horned elephants, emblematic of royal magnificence and might. Again, there must here be a direct reference to the Indian campaigns of Seleucus, together with perhaps a somewhat veiled allusion to the battle of Ipsus in which his elephants played so decisive a part. The whole design may well have been suggested by the gold staters first issued about 305 B. C. by

[31] For instance, Diodorus II, 8 speaks of "Zeus whom the Babylonians call Bel".

[32] In the time of Seleucus IV. Cf. Dittenberger No. 245, 10f. Cf. also, A. D. Nock, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XLVIII, 1928, pp. 41–42, for the epithet Ζεὺς Σελεύκιος.

Ptolemy, Seleucus' old friend, patron and ally in the days of his direst need. These well-known Egyptian coins depict the deified Alexander standing in a chariot, also drawn by four elephants. If we accept this suggestion, and further note that the types of the new issues of Seleucus, significantly enough, present Alexander's two most favored divinities, Zeus and Athena, then we may again recognize clear evidence on his coins of his desire not only to emulate the great Macedonian hero but also to show the basis for his own claim to the right to rule the East. This "Alexander complex" (to use a modern expression) of Seleucus is further illustrated by some interesting remarks made by Babelon while discussing these very coins. He says: *Dans le cortège d'Alexandre rentrant à Babylone, il y avait plusieurs centaines d'éléphants, et le conquérant se glorifiait de posséder ces animaux qu'il employa à rendre sa cour plus imposante. On croit même qu'il fit son entrée à Babylone sur un char tiré par des éléphants. Dans tous les cas, ce furent des éléphants qui figurèrent dans son cortège funèbre et qui ramenèrent son corps en Egypte. Conquérant de l'Inde, Séleucus dut sans doute, à l'imitation d'Alexandre, rentrer dans Babylone environné d'une pompe triomphale, et monté sur un char traîné par les plus beaux des éléphants de Sandracottus.*[33]

That the majority of these elephant tetradrachms of Seleucus must be assigned to Babylonia has already been brought out by Imhoof-Blumer,[34] but he unfortunately attributes them to the mint at Babylon and includes among their number also those on which only two (instead of four) elephants draw Athena's car. The *tetradrachms*[35] bearing the elephant *biga* were not coined either at Babylon or Seleucia, but at Susa, as the writer will show in Chapter III. That the coins described in the present study came from Babylonia and were actually coined at Seleucia is attested by their style, fabric and usual provenance; by the fact that two hoards from Mesopotamia[36] contained numerous examples of these coins; and, finally, by the fact that a drachm, together with a very considerable number of the accompanying bronze coins, was unearthed in the excavations carried on at the site of Seleucia itself.[37]

The entire coinage of these elephant-tetradrachms of Seleucia may be divided conveniently into an earlier and a later series by observing the manner in which the die-cutters faced the problem of depicting the four great beasts with their four trunks, eight tusks, eight horns and sixteen legs. At first the artists were at pains to avoid the resulting monotony of any schematic arrangement of this plethora of trunks and legs. The elephant nearest the observer is depicted with his two hind-legs slanting backwards, the right foreleg perpendicular, the left advanced and bent sharply at the knee, the trunk out straight but curving downwards at the end. The forepart of the second elephant is advanced beyond that of the first, his right shoulder and foreleg depicted in a columnar fashion, his left foreleg advanced and

[33] Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Introd., p. xxviii.
[34] *Num. Zeitschrift*, XXVII, 1895, p. 10 ff.
[35] Only the *hemidrachms* have the *biga* at Seleucia, as described in our catalogue, Nos. 83, 86, 98 and 116.
[36] Noe, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 118, 680.
[37] *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 5 ff.

his trunk stretched forward like that of the first. The legs of the remaining two elephants are indicated by lines paralleling those of the first pair, while their trunks are raised up in an "s"-like curve, as if trumpeting.

Beginning with No. 50 (dies *P118* and *P119*) a change appears which by Group H (Nos. 55ff.) becomes definitely established, and continues until the end of the entire series. The artists give up their attempt at "staggering" the forelegs and fall back upon the more usual resort of placing them in parallel lines or arranging them in a sort of fan-like design. At the same time, the two near elephants stretch their trunks forward, while the two furthest elephants raise theirs in the air. Also, from time to time, the die-cutter manages to get into the less complicated design at least an attempt at depicting the nearest elephant's tusks (see particularly No. 56, PLATE VIII, 5), which heretofore have only now and then been suggested. For a short period, in Group K and in one instance (No. 76) in Group L, and another (No. 95) in Group N, the nearest elephant wears a bell suspended from its neck.

By carefully observing these minor variations in details, and aided by the more subjective nuances of style and fabric, it will often be possible to allocate a badly worn coin to its proper place in the series now before us. In speaking of worn coins, it should be stated that our catalogue does not contain all known specimens of the elephant coins of Seleucia, even if their general location in the series is determinable. Their monograms are frequently so small, or chance to be damaged by corrosion, or happen to be off flan, that photographs and even casts are inadequate to determine the particular variety of the piece in question. Therefore several coins preserved in public collections, or reproduced on the plates of public sales,[38] possess monograms which are quite illegible without the aid of the original coins themselves. Such coins have been omitted from our catalogue, except in the few cases where identity of dies allows of their being placed with certainty.

The issues of Series II, when arranged in their apparent order according to style and sequence of dies and monograms of the individual coins, fall naturally into twenty groups. As the space of time at our disposal between the final Group E of Series I (*c.* 301–300 B. C.) and the death of Seleucus in 280 B. C. is also just twenty years, it would seem *a priori* probable that each group may represent the issues of a single year. Acting on this assumption, we secure the following approximate dates for the several groups:

Group A: *circa* 300–299 B. C.
Group B: *circa* 299–298 B. C.
Group C: *circa* 298–297 B. C.
Group D: *circa* 297–296 B. C.
Group E: *circa* 296–295 B. C.
Group F: *circa* 295–294 B. C.
Group G: *circa* 294–293 B. C.
Group H: *circa* 293–292 B. C.
Group I: *circa* 292–291 B. C.
Group J: *circa* 291–290 B. C.
Group K: *circa* 290–289 B. C.
Group L: *circa* 289–288 B. C.

[38] For instance, Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 790. Four drachms are in Paris from the Susa excavations, but as they have not yet been cleaned it is still impossible to determine their particular varieties.

Group M: *circa* 288–287 B. C.	Group Q: *circa* 284–283 B. C.
Group N: *circa* 287–286 B. C.	Group R: *circa* 283–282 B. C.
Group O: *circa* 286–285 B. C.	Group S: *circa* 282–281 B. C.
Group P: *circa* 285–284 B. C.	Group T: *circa* 281–280 B. C.

This result, considering the number of coins actually at our disposal, the combinations of monograms and varieties of style, offers a reasonable and workable chronology.

While we may safely assume that all the larger groups once issued are now represented in our trays by at least one example, it is practically certain that we do not yet possess all the *varieties* originally coined. Of certain varieties, we have but a single specimen. How many more varieties may there have been of which not a single representative has yet reached us? By carefully checking through our catalogue, there are certain obvious, though minor, gaps which still exist here and there. The opening-up process, which especially Irak and Iran are now undergoing, will inevitably bring many new specimens into the hands of scholars to fill the existing *lacunae*.

Turning now to the coins themselves, let us see what it is possible to glean by a study of the individual groups which compose Series II.

GROUP A, *c.* 300–299 B. C.

The coinage starts out with an issue of tetradrachms only (PLATE VI, 1). Probably the prolific issue of the minor fractions in bronze, which had characterized Series I, made a further coinage of small denominations unnecessary at that time.

While the Zeus head of the new type possesses certain elements of strength and dignity, the over-large eye, the thick lines of nose and beard, the snake-like locks at the back and the general lack of any subtlety in the modelling produce a rather crude and unlovely effect, which is far from the splendid Zeus heads to be found on the original model—the tetradrachms of Philip II of Macedon. In point of fact, our present coins are distinctly reminiscent of the posthumous tetradrachms of the Philip type which were at this time being coined in Macedonian mints under the rule of Cassander. Surely it must have been one of these latter issues that had actually served as a model for our die-cutter. The reverse, with its entirely new type and rather complicated design, displays his lack of ability to execute anything that demanded finesse and delicacy of touch. Athena and her chariot of elephants are poorly articulated and too much spread over the field, while the letters of both inscription and magistrates' initials are clumsily rendered. A similar heaviness of style, as compared to what had preceded, was already apparent in the last issue (No. 28, PLATE V, 12) of Series I, signed by the same magistrate, ΔI.

The initials ΔI and B of the officiating magistrates have appeared before on the issues of Seleucia, and may well belong to the same individuals who had signed Nos. 4, 9, 14–16, 28 of Series I.

GROUP B, *c.* 299–298 B. C.

The slightly improved, yet still heavy, crude style of the Zeus head was at first continued in Series B (die A32, PLATE VI, 2–3). From the outset, however, the design of Athena in her elephant chariot has become far more compact and better executed than in the preceding group. The lettering, too, is more regular and the individual characters better formed. As the issue progresses, this improvement continues in the artistic rendering of both obverse and reverse type. As yet, only tetradrachms are known.

Nos. 30 and 31, Nos. 33 and 34, Nos. 35 and 36 are linked together by the use of obverse dies used in common. The entire group is supervised by two chief magistrates, Π and Σ, who sometimes sign with each other, sometimes singly, or in conjunction with yet other magistrates.

GROUP C, *c.* 298–297 B. C.

The second monogram of No. 37 is probably but a variant of the second monogram of No. 38, the very small size of these comparatively complicated monograms rendering it difficult for the die-cutter to produce really clear results. In any case, Nos. 37 and 38 are linked by having their obverses struck from one and the same die (A36). The style continues to improve, the designs grow less clumsy in execution, as more able artists are secured for the mint—or the older artists become more proficient by continued practice.

GROUP D, *c.* 297–296 B. C.

This group makes use of an old obverse die (A36 of Group C) but which by now has become very worn and damaged, thus definitely proving Group D to be a successor of Group C.

For the first time since the inauguration of the new series, a smaller denomination—the drachm—is issued. The types chosen are the old Alexander ones, either for commercial reasons or because the elephant quadriga seemed at first too complicated a design to be suitable for the smaller coin. Before long, however, we shall see that even quadrigas of elephants could be made to fit the flan of the drachm.

Δ and N are the sole officiating magistrates for this issue.

GROUP E, *c.* 296–295 B. C.

A new issue of the Alexander gold stater (the first to appear at Seleucia since the two issues in Series I) and a large coinage in bronze characterize Group E. There is also an accompanying tetradrachm of the usual Zeus—elephant-quadriga type. This latter coin, closely connected with both the gold and the bronze coins by the presence of the magistrate's monogram ⁋, makes use of an old and worn obverse die (A39) which had already been employed in the production of Group D. This fact assures our sequential arrangement of Groups D and E.

The coinage of gold at Seleucia seems ever to have possessed something of a special nature and was not a routine affair. We first have a coinage in this metal at the very opening of the new mint (No. 1), followed by a similar issue (Nos. 10 and 11) a year or so later on the receipt of the news of Seleucus' successes in the east. No more gold staters appear to have been coined (or, at least, to have come down to us) until Groups E and F of Series II. If our tentative dating of these groups (E to 296–5 B. C., F to 295–4 B. C.) be accepted, then we may be justified in associating the appearance of these unusual gold issues with two important events which we know took place at about this time.

It was in the year 295 B. C. that Seleucus finally decided to take definite action with regard to certain territories (Cilicia and the Phoenician cities of Sidon and Tyre) still held by Demetrius, and which Seleucus had vainly attempted to purchase[39] from his father-in-law. While Demetrius was now seriously involved in the affairs of Greece, Seleucus prepared his own forces and, striking suddenly (294 B. C.), secured complete possession of the coveted territories. Soon after this success, Seleucus divided the onerous administration of his huge empire. He retained the direction of the western portion with his capital at Antioch, while he established his son Antiochus at the metropolis of Seleucia on the Tigris, thence to administer the affairs of the eastern portion of the empire, from the Euphrates to the borders of India.[40]

The sudden appearance of the two gold staters (Nos. 43 and 47) at this juncture may perhaps be interpreted as forming a part of Seleucus' careful preparations for the descent upon the eastern territories of Demetrius, and as an issue in commemoration of the success attending this move.

The issuance, after an interval of some nine years or more, of a large bronze coinage (Nos. 45 and 46) may have a similar significance

These bronze coins are in two denominations and bear types new for the mint of Seleucia.[41] On the obverse, we see the splendid head and neck of a horse to right, with bull's horns added. The apparent predilection, exhibited on Seleucus' coins, for embellishing his horses and elephants—or even his own portrait—with symbolic bull's horns, has been thoroughly discussed by Babelon.[42] The type of the horse's head has been associated by the same author[43] with the story of the king's famous steed who by his courage and fleetness of foot saved his master's life when Seleucus was hard pressed by the minions of Antigonus. In commemoration, the king later erected a gilded bronze monument, consisting of a horse's head, a helmet, and a dedicatory inscription. Especially appropriate would be the appearance of the

[39] Bevan, p. 63.

[40] Bouché-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, p. 40, dates this event to 294–3 B. C.; Bevan, *loc. cit.*, p. 64, to "about 293"; Beloch IV, 2, pp. 192 and 198, to 292 B. C.

[41] Both the horned horse's head and the anchor had already appeared *as accessory symbols* on lion staters and Alexandrine tetradrachms, drachms, etc. coined by Seleucus at other mints, i. e. Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, etc.

[42] *Loc. cit.*, Introd., pp. xviii–xxv.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

horse's head as a full type on the coin-issues of the present capital of Babylonia, for it was at Babylon itself that the aforementioned event had taken place.

The type chosen for the reverses of these bronze coins was the anchor, an object that appears to have been adopted by Seleucus as his own personal emblem, for Appian says[44] that when he became king, Seleucus "used an engraved anchor for his signet ring." In the same passage, Appian also relates the story that the mother of Seleucus was advised in a dream to give him the ring she should find, "and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. It is said also that at a later period, when he was setting out for Babylon, he stumbled against a stone which, when dug up, was seen to be an anchor."[45] Justin[46] tells a somewhat similar story, with later embellishments. These tales have led to Haussoullier's conjecture,[47] accepted by Bouchè-Leclercq,[48] that in some way the anchor was a symbol of Babylon (or of Babylonia, as a whole ?). Thus, this "coat-of-arms" of Seleucus might typify his acquisition of Babylon. Be this as it may, the anchor appeared as an accessory symbol on one of the bronze coins (No. 8, PLATE III, 5) of Series I, as well as on all the tetradrachms of Series II, and becomes the complete reverse type of the new issue of bronze coins now before us. It would seem, then, that no more appropriate types for coins struck and circulated in Babylonia under Seleucus could have been chosen than the horse's head and the anchor.

For the first time in Seleucid numismatics, there is found on these bronze coins of Seleucia the peculiar "bevelled-edge technique" which, henceforth, becomes typical of the minor coins of this mint and spreads thence to most of the other eastern mints of the empire.[49] It is to be noted that no less than sixteen specimens of Nos. 45 and 46 turned up in the excavations at Seleucia, which, as Dr. McDowell states,[50] represents the largest number of any group of the coins of Seleucus I found on that site. This assures us that the original mint of the coins in question must be Seleucia on the Tigris.

GROUP F, *c.* 295–294 B. C.

As stated above, this group contains a further issue of gold staters, No. 47. They were accompanied by four varieties of the usual tetradrachm bearing the same two monograms in varying positions. Two additional tetradrachms (Nos. 51 and 51A) are associated with the other coins of this group by the presence of the monogram

[44] *Syr.*, 56.

[45] Translation of Horace White, in The Loeb Classical Library.

[46] Justin, XV, 4.

[47] *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, Fasc. 138: *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymaion*, p. 126ff.

[48] *Loc. cit.*, p. 610.

[49] This technique proclaims the fact that the blanks were cast before striking. The bevelled edge also appears later at many of the Syrian and Phoenician mints under the Seleucids, but in their case the method of production was apparently borrowed from Egypt, not Seleucia. The western Seleucid issues almost invariably possess the peculiar central hole (resulting from the practice of smoothing by means of a lathe the rough surface and edges produced by the casting process) which is so typical of the Egyptian bronze coins after the middle of Ptolemy II's reign. The Eastern issues do not have this hole.

[50] *Loc. cit.*, p. 30.

$\overline{AB}$. As previously suggested, the continued coinage of gold staters may have been connected with the celebrations attending the installment (about 294–293 B. C.) at Seleucia on the Tigris of the king's eldest son Antiochus as viceroy of all the eastern provinces.

GROUP G, *c.* 294–293 B. C. (?)

The position of this group of tetradrachms (Nos. 52–54, PLATE VIII, 1–3) is a little uncertain as we have only the general style upon which to base a judgment. It is to be noted, however, that the forelegs of the elephants represent a half-way point between the "broken up" and the "parallel" arrangements described on p. 40, while the head of Zeus reveals many points of similarity with those found on the preceding dies A33, A34, A36, A38 and A42. The monograms on the reverse dies *P122* and *P123* are illegible—or very nearly so—but the coins in question must be closely associated with *P121* as their obverses are all from the same die, A44.

GROUP H, *c.* 293–292 B. C.

With Group H appears a prolific issue of obols, in addition to the usual tetradrachms. The coins of the group are associated by the letter Δ and the monogram ⋈, which occur throughout the issue either in conjunction with each other or with additional monograms. The position in Series II of Group H is assured by the continued use of an old obverse die (A41) which first appeared in Group F and which by now exhibits serious wear.

This represents the first time since the issues of Group D, Series I, nine years before, that the smallest of the silver fractions had again been coined at Seleucia. In the present case, the issue must have been a large one as many specimens have survived. Our obols do not, as in previous issues, reproduce the types of the accompanying tetradrachms. Instead, they bear on the obverse the tripod of Apollo with *holmos* and sometimes a fillet; and on the reverse either the anchor (PLATE VIII, 7, 9) of the preceding bronze coins, or a bow and quiver (PLATE VIII, 10).

Numismatists have ever, naturally enough, associated this tripod with Apollo and so recognized here an allusion to the reputed divine origin of Seleucus[51]—according to the well known story related by Justin XV, 4. Haussoulier, however, suggests[52] that it was only the descendants of Seleucus who invented, or played up, the Apolline origin of the dynasty. He denies that Seleucus ever adopted the type of Apollo for his coins or employed any symbol alluding to this divine origin; especially denying that the tripod in particular could possess any such connotation. While it is probably true that Seleucus, himself, never placed the *figure* of Apollo on his coins,[53] we know that he did utilize not only the tripod but the actual head of the god as well, as we shall see when we come to study Group O of the present series.

[51] For instance, Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Introd., p. xxxiv.

[52] *Loc. cit.*

[53] The bronze coin assigned by Gardner (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Pl. ii, 5) to Seleucus I, and accepted as such by Babelon (Introd., p. xxxv), is probably an issue of Seleucus II or Seleucus III.

There can, therefore, be no question but that it was Seleucus who introduced Apollo among the more ordinary Seleucid coin types. Hence, it is probable that a story, in one form or another, concerning his supposed Apolline origin was current in his own lifetime. By the beginning of his son's reign the claim was officially encouraged by the royal court.[54]

GROUP I, *c.* 292–291 B. C.

The magistrate's initials characteristic of this group are Δ and Θ, which occur either singly or together, unaccompanied by any other monogram. The tetradrachm is the only known denomination[55]—unless we are to suppose that the monogram ⊟, accompanying the letter *delta* on the obol No. 60, is only a stylized *theta*. In that case, Nos. 60 and 61 should be transferred from Group H to Group I.

GROUP J, *c.* 291–290 B. C.

The true position of this single coin (No. 67, PLATE IX, 1) is uncertain as its monograms vary somewhat from any that we have yet met in Series II. It is possible that the upper monogram behind Athena may be but a variant of the monogram to the right of the elephants on No. 59 of Group H. In any case, the style of both obverse and reverse resembles that found in Groups G to I and, hence, our tetradrachm must have been coined during this period. We can only hope that future finds may bring us additional specimens of this coin, particularly such as may have some definite die connections with the aforementioned groups.

GROUP K, *c.* 290–289 B. C.

With Group K, the stater once more appears—this time, curiously enough, with the name of Seleucus unaccompanied by any title. It bears the same two monograms as the tetradrachms and drachms, Nos. 69–72, and so must be associated with them in point both of time and issue. This definitely disposes of a theory once held by some scholars[56] that the staters of Seleucus without the Βασιλεύς should be assigned to the period when in name he was only satrap and before he had assumed the royal title.

The reason for the sudden omission of the title is not clear, especially as it had been employed on the gold staters ever since the very first issue of this denomination

[54] See especially Pauly-Wissowa, II, 2, pp. 1231–2, where references to the lapidary inscriptions in support of this are given.

[55] The very common bronze coins with a laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a fighting Athena, accompanied by the letter *theta*, on the reverse (Brit. Mus. Cat., Pl. ii, 13), might on the strength of this association of the Athena type and letter, be assigned to the mint of Seleucia on the Tigris. But style and fabric (slightly cupped flans, straight edges, etc.) are utterly at variance with the third century issues of our mint and are, in this respect, rather of Syrian origin. Finally, not a single specimen turned up in the excavations carried on at the site of Seleucia.

[56] Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Introd., pp. viii–ix, pertinently points out that this assumption is not necessarily true, although even he assigns these coins to the early years of Seleucus' reign as king, i. e. shortly after 306–305 B. C.

at Seleucia in 305 B. C. Possibly the reason was a purely spatial one, as the title never fails to appear on all the tetradrachms coined at our mint.[57] But as it is invariably present on even the smallest denominations of the elephant-chariot type, this aesthetic explanation fails to satisfy completely. In fact, it is to be noted that when the title is omitted, it is omitted only on coins (gold staters, silver drachms, hemidrachms, etc.) of the *Alexander type*. This being so, Babelon's explanation,[58] namely that the presence or absence of the title under Seleucus is merely in pursuance of a practice prevalent under Alexander the Great, Philip III and Alexander IV, still holds the field.

We know too little of the history of the particular period in which Group K must have been issued, to hazard even a guess at the probable reason for the renewed coinage of the gold stater after a lapse of some five or more years.

The tetradrachms are here accompanied by drachms, no longer of the accustomed Alexandrine type but now bearing the Zeus head and the elephant-quadriga of the larger coins. The two varieties of the tetradrachm are struck from a single obverse die. Likewise, the three drachms, Nos. 70, 71A and 72, use one obverse die only.

GROUP L, *c.* 289–288 B. C.

Group L comprises a large coinage of tetradrachms and drachms bearing the now accustomed types, and all provided with the signatures Θ and either Φ or Λ—the two monograms evidently belonging to the same magistrate who had participated in the coinage of the immediately preceding group. Whether or not Θ designates the magistrate who had previously signed in Group I, is difficult to say. On the other hand, he is undoubtedly the same official who henceforth continues to supervise the coinage down to, and including, Group T, which constitutes the final issue of Series II at the time of the death of Seleucus I.

GROUP M, *c.* 288–287 B. C.

A very prolific coinage of tetradrachms, drachms and even hemidrachms, of the Zeus and elephant-chariot type, constitutes Group M. All the coins are signed by the magistrates Θ and Λ. On the reverse of the hemidrachms, the artist evidently felt that he lacked the necessary space to depict the full quadriga of elephants, and so substituted therefor the *biga*. Exigency of room is more probably the likely explanation than that it was thereby specifically intended to denote visually the hemidrachm as the half of the drachm. Only on the hemidrachms of this and the succeeding series at Seleucia do we meet with the *biga*, although from the beginning this was the ordinary type on all denominations struck at the sister mint of Susa.

Group M is connected with the preceding group by the carrying over of the obverse die A61 on No. 87.

[57] It does not appear, as we shall see, on some of the tetradrachms coined under Seleucus at Ecbatana, cf. PLATE XXXVII, 6 and 10.

[58] *Loc. cit.*, Introd., p. ix.

GROUP N, *c.* 287–286 B. C.

Like the preceding group, Group N also contains many drachms and hemidrachms of the elephant-chariot type. Even a possible obol (No. 99, PLATE X, 19) of the old Alexander type is present—but its assignment here is not quite above question, as the form of the monogram is 𐡀, instead of the 𐡀 found on all of the larger denominations. The absence of the title on the obol is paralleled on the contemporary gold Alexandrine issues of Seleucia (Nos. 68 and 110), as well as on the later prolific issues of Alexander drachms (No. 125ff.), to whose style the present obol bears considerable likeness.

As stated before, the magistrate Θ is probably the same individual who has been functioning for some time at Seleucia (Groups I, L, M), while similarly 𐡀 may be the same official who was active in Group F. Whether he is identical with 𐡀 of Group M, is less certain, though not impossible.

GROUP O, *c.* 286–285 B. C.

The issues of this group are characterized by the presence of a symbol, the PENTALPHA, accompanied by the now usual ⊙. On many of the coins, the letter is so small that previous writers can hardly be blamed for frequently describing it as an *omicron*, 'circle,' 'globe,' etc. But on all really well-preserved specimens the central dot is quite clear and the letter must therefore be read as a *theta*.

To this same group must also be assigned a large issue of bronze coins, comprising at least three denominations and bearing for types the laureate head of Apollo and the humped bull butting to r. Their flans are characteristic for Seleucia, flat on one side, convex on the other, and with bevelled edges. For the first time at Seleucia, the head of Apollo graces the obverse die, while the humped bull is reminiscent of Nos. 6 to 8 of Series I. The possible motives actuating the choice of Apollo for a type have been discussed above on pp. 45–46, while the bull undoubtedly refers to the well-known exploit of Seleucus, as described on pp. 18–19.

It may be taken as certain that the bronze coins Nos. 105 to 106 belong to Group O as they display the accustomed PENTALPHA and *theta*. Nos. 107–108 omit the PENTALPHA but have, instead, the monogram 𐡀. All, however, are provided with the supervisor's letter, *theta*. If these particular coins are not actually part of Group O, they can only be assigned to the following Group P; for with Group Q, a further issue of bronze coins, with a new obverse type, makes its appearance. All these coins have already been assigned to Babylonia by Imhoof-Blumer,[59] who recognized their style and fabric as characteristic of the issues of that province. The attribution is definitely proved by the fact that no less than thirteen specimens turned up in the excavations at Seleucia.[60] Since the appearance of Group E, some ten years back, no bronze coins had been issued from Seleucia. Presumably by now, these were exhibiting signs of considerable wear, which was perhaps the reason for the new coinage.

[59] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 13.
[60] McDowell, *loc. cit.*, p. 7, No. 11.

GROUP P, *c.* 285–284 B. C.

With Group P, a further issue of the Alexander-type gold stater (No. 110, PLATE XI, 9) makes its appearance. It is accompanied by three varieties of the usual tetradrachm, all struck from the same obverse die. Minor denominations have not yet turned up—perhaps because the prolific coinage of such fractions in the immediately preceding groups made a further issue at this time unnecessary.

GROUP Q, *c.* 284–283 B. C.

Here, we find a renewed coinage of divisional pieces, both silver and bronze—the tetradrachm seems to be rare. The bronze coins occur in three denominations and bear a new obverse type, the head of Medusa. The humped bull of the preceding bronze coinage continues to appear on the reverses of the present issue.

The entire issue is again supervised by our old friend, *Theta*, assisted by an official employing the monogram ⋔. Because of the small size and curious form of this particular monogram, previous scholars have frequently rendered it as ⋔; while the accompanying *theta*, being sometimes weakly struck, is frequently overlooked altogether.

Of the numerous existing Seleucid bronze coins bearing the Medusa-bull types, only those particular varieties which are described here should be assigned to Seleucia on the Tigris. For it happens that these types were also employed by Seleucus I in at least four, possibly even five, of his other mints. Nearly all are listed and described by Imhoof-Blumer in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1913, Vol. XLVI, pp. 190–2, where he assigns them without distinction to the mint of Babylon.[61] But those struck in the eastern portion of the empire possess the usual bevelled edges; those struck in the west, straight edges. The former are subdivided by their monograms into three groups, one (ours) struck at Seleucia, the others at Susa and Ecbatana.[62] By an obvious error, the Swiss scholar has described one of these coins as bearing the PENTALPHA and the *theta* above the bull. Imhoof-Blumer had misread Macdonald's description[63]—no such coin exists, and it should therefore be eliminated from Imhoof-Blumer's list. The total coinage of these Medusa bronzes at Seleucia (as also at Ecbatana and Susa) was probably small. In contrast to those of western fabric which are very common, those possessing the bevelled edge are comparatively scarce on the modern coin market. None was found (at least among the specimens still legible) in the excavations at Seleucia. But this may be due to the fact that the excavators seldom penetrated below Parthian levels and that, in fact, the majority of the coins brought back "came from the surface débris over the whole extent of the mounds."[64] When the Seleucid levels are reached, as is hoped will be the case in the forthcoming campaign, specimens of this type will doubtless be found.

[61] Imhoof-Blumer on p. 192 of his study shows a little hesitancy in assigning these coins to Babylon—as well he might, seeing that he has here actually gathered together indiscriminately the issues of at least three different mints, with their corresponding variations in monograms, style, fabric and find-spots.

[62] See below, Nos. 341 and 501–2.

[63] Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection, Vol. III, p. 10, No. 43.

[64] McDowell, *loc. cit.*, Preface, pp. vii, 53.

With regard to the Medusa type, Babelon favors[65] Visconti's theory that Medusa was adopted by Seleucus as a type for the coin issues of Antioch because of the legendary association of the hero Perseus with Mount Silpius in that city. The type may have been used at Seleucia, Susa and Ecbatana merely in imitation of the more common Antiochene issues. On the other hand, even in those three cities, the Greek officials in charge of the mints might reasonably make use of the type if they knew of the legend according to which Persia had received its name from Perseus, whose descendants are even supposed to have long reigned at Babylon.[66] These legends, however, may well be of a very much later age.

GROUP R, *c.* 283–282 B. C.

Group R comprises tetradrachms only. One of their known obverse dies (A71), continues in use under the next Group S, thus establishing the true sequence of these issues.

GROUP S, *c.* 282–281 B. C.

In addition to its stater and three tetradrachms, Group S comprises a very large number of fractional silver pieces. With but one exception (No. 124, PLATE XII, 10) these are again of the old Alexander type and appear to have been coined in unusually large quantities. It may be that the size of the issue was due to Seleucus' campaign in Asia Minor against Lysimachus, and that Babylonia was now called upon to furnish food and military supplies of all sorts.[67] Because the drachms here suddenly revert to Alexander's types, and because it is just these pieces which are now so numerous, it is possible that they may have been specifically intended for soldiers' pay. Not only were Alexander's types especially favored in Asia Minor at this time, but hoards reveal that the elephant-chariot coins seldom penetrated to the west.[67a] The renewed occurrence of a gold stater (No. 121A) accompanying this issue also suggests warlike preparations.

The supervising magistrate of both Groups R and S continues to be the person, the initial of whose name is *theta*. He is assisted by two subordinates whose complicated monograms appear singly alongside the *theta*.

GROUP T, *c.* 281–280 B. C.

To the final coinage of Seleucus at his Babylonian capital may be assigned the two Alexander-type coins, Nos. 132 and 133 (PLATE XII, 18–19), still bearing the usual *theta* but now accompanied by another monogram composed of *rho* and *omega*. In style and fabric, these coins are but the continuation of the drachms assembled under Group S. Perhaps future finds will furnish us with the accompany-

[65] *Loc. cit.*, Introd., p. xxxiii.

[66] John Malala, II, p. 45.

[67] Early in the succeeding reign of Antiochus I this very thing happened, as we know from a tablet in the British Museum. See Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 150ff.

[67a] Cf. p. 51 and footnote 71.

ing tetradrachms—if, indeed, any at all were coined. For the entire coinage must have been small as it could have been begun but a short time before the news of the assassination of Seleucus by Ceraunus reached Seleucia in the spring or early summer of 280 B. C.

HOARDS

The only hoard really pertinent to our study of Series II is the one secured in Babylonia by Prof. Haynes.[68] Besides the eight Alexandrine-type tetradrachms of Seleucus (five from Seleucia, two from Susa, one from Antioch) and one diobol of the victory and trophy type, it contained no less than twenty-three tetradrachms and five drachms of the elephant-quadriga type—all struck at Seleucia on the Tigris. These have been incorporated in our catalogue and designated as coming from this hoard. With regard to their weights, it should be remembered that, when found, the coins were all very heavily corroded; and because of their consequent illegibility, were not weighed until after cleaning. The weights are therefore much lower than they otherwise would have been. The latest coins in the entire hoard are three examples (Nos. 111, 112, 113, PLATE XI, 10–12) of Series II, Group P—all originally in mint state when the hoard was buried. The deposit, according to its contents, thus reaches down to within about four years of the death of Seleucus. Prof. Haynes' hoard proves most useful to us, not only because of the many new varieties which it contained but also because the progressive wear displayed by its coins assists us materially in their chronological arrangement. The fact that none of the elephant-quadriga type attributable to Susa, Bactria, and elsewhere were present in the hoard, proves fairly conclusively that the varieties which it did contain were coined in Babylonia and largely circulated there.

In this regard, the evidence is supported by the only other hoard known to have contained any considerable number of these elephant-quadriga coins—the hoard from Mesopotamia[69] originally owned by M. Gejou, the well known Parisian dealer in Babylonian antiquities. The specimens from this hoard (eight tetradrachms, six drachms, one hemidrachm) have also been carefully recorded in our catalogue, together with their present weights which, because of the drastic cleaning necessary, are also uniformly light. The Gejou hoard, however, was a much later deposit, reaching down to and including the reign of Seleucus II.

The great hoard said to have been found near Armenak in Asia Minor[70] throws little light on our subject. So far as the writer knows, it contained no example of the elephant-quadriga coins, showing how seldom these particular pieces penetrated to the west.[71] It did, however, furnish us with an example of the Alexander-type

[68] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 118. See also above, pp. 11 and 23.

[69] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 680.

[70] See above, p. 23, note 27. Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 67.

[71] Only two western finds appear to have contained such pieces: Sophikon (Noe, *loc. cit.*, Hoard No. 997) which had one tetradrachm (too badly preserved to embody in our catalogue), and a Serbian hoard (Noe, No. 959) which had two tetradrachms, Nos. 53 and 306. In addition, we know that the specimen in the Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 787, Pl. 27, must once have reached the European shores, for it now bears the countermark of Callatis.

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drachm of Seleucus No. 127, a fact that tends to support the suggestion made above[72] that these Alexandrine drachms of Seleucus may have been specifically coined for use in the campaign against Lysimachus.

ANTIOCHUS I

280–261 B. C.

The sudden death of Seleucus found his son Antiochus at Seleucia on the Tigris acting as his father's viceroy[73] over the eastern portion of the empire. Bereft of the strong will and able hands that had formed and hitherto directed it, the great empire now threatened to disintegrate. Many provinces asserted their independence, and the son found himself beset by difficulties and dangers on all sides. But Antiochus, while perhaps not possessed of his father's genius, still had inherited much of the latter's courage, perseverance and energy. He at once threw himself into the unenviable task of holding off his foreign enemies, the while he strove to master rebellion at home and reweld the empire into a solid whole once more.

The first issues of coin in the name of the new ruler employ only old and well-known types. Antiochus at the moment was probably far too engrossed in weightier matters to select new types for his coinage. Besides, in such dangerous and unstable times, widely accepted types were best until conditions had again become stabilized and the empire's prestige reasserted.

SERIES I, *c.* 280–278 B. C.

134. DRACHM.
Laureate head of Zeus r. Circle of dots.

ANTIOXOY on l. BAΣIΛEΩΣ in the exergue. Athena in quadriga of elephants to r. Between Athena's shield and the anchor, Ⲛ Δ.

Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, 354, formerly Gen. Cunningham Coll., Sotheby Sale, July 1866, No. 30), gr. 3.93. PLATE XIII, 1.

135. DRACHM.
Head of Zeus to r. From the same obverse die as No. 134.

(BAΣIΛEΩΣ, off flan), ANTIOXOY in the exergue. Athena in a quadriga of elephants to r. In the exergue, Ⲛ.

Newell, gr. 4.08. PLATE XIII, 2.

136. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles to r., wearing the lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ANTIOXOY on r., BAΣIΛEΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus Nicephorus enthroned to l. In l. field, Ⲛ. Beneath the throne, Ⓐ.

A74—*P174*. α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 11, No. 3), gr. 16.80; β) Newell (ex Alichan and Petrowicz Colls., Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 840, Pl. 28), gr. 16.63. PLATE XIII, 3.

[72] P. 50.
[73] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 74; Bouché-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.

137. TETRADRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, H. Beneath the throne, Ⓐ.

A74—*P175*. London (Gardner No. 1, Pl. iii, 1), gr. 16.85. PLATE XIII, 4.

138. TETRADRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding. The die is now in a worn state. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, Ⓐ. Beneath the throne, Ⓐ.

A74—*P176*. The Hague. PLATE XIII, 5.

139. TETRADRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding. The die is now in a very worn state. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, Ⓐ. Beneath the throne, Ⓐ.

A74—*P177*. Copenhagen, gr. 16.60. PLATE XIII, 6.

SERIES I

The drachms, Nos. 134 and 135, with the name of Antiochus, are struck from the same obverse die. The monogram (apparently $\overline{\text{ΠΑΝ}}$) which appears above the elephants on No. 134 is in the exergue on No. 135. The two coins have been assigned to Seleucia because of their types and because of the similarity of this monogram to the one which is present in the left field of No. 136, the earliest known tetradrachm of Antiochus I struck at our mint.

The four Alexandrine tetradrachms with the name of Antiochus (Nos. 136–139) are all coined from the same obverse die, which clearly shows progressive wear and damage as the issue proceeds. The entire series has been assigned to the years 280–278 B. C. on the basis of this wear. It may even have continued for another year, for we cannot know the inherent strength of this particular obverse die, or the number of coins it was actually called upon to produce. At Sidon and Ake, where there was a long and continuous production of *dated* Alexandrine tetradrachms, obverse dies frequently lasted from two to three years[74] before they became as worn as is die A74 at its final appearance in No. 139. Two years seems therefore to represent a safe allowance for the coinage of Series I. This being the case, the issues of year 280–279 B. C. may be represented by the two tetradrachms (Nos. 136 and 137) with the monogram Ⓐ beneath the throne, those of year 279–278 B. C. by the two tetradrachms (Nos. 138 and 139) with Ⓐ in that same position.

The style and fabric of Nos. 136 to 139 present a distinctly "eastern" flavor. But the definite basis for their attribution to Seleucia lies partly in the apparent connection between the drachms Nos. 134 and 135 with previous issues of Seleucia, and especially in the obviously close connection between Series I and the succeeding Series II of Antiochus I as revealed by the continued presence on the latter's coins

[74] E. T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, New Haven, 1916. At Sidon we have a record of nine dies lasting two, one lasting three and one lasting four years, respectively. Similarly, at Ake ten dies lasted two years and two dies lasted three years. The three-year dies show great wear.

of the magistrates' monograms 𐤀 and 𐤐. The H of No. 137 may well represent the same official who signs himself 𐤇𐤐 on the earliest issues of the succeeding Series (Nos. 140–150).

For the first two years of his reign, the movements of Antiochus were confined because of the very serious revolt which had broken out in Syria in 279[75] and which was not mastered until 277 B. C. One might therefore have expected a heavier coinage in Seleucia at this time than that represented by the issue of Series I which, though bearing the signatures of several magistrates, yet appears to employ but one obverse die. Possibly the money coined there during the final years of Seleucus I, proved sufficient. Possibly, also, precious metals in sufficient quantities for a larger coinage were not immediately available to Antiochus during the extremely difficult years at the outset of his reign.

SERIES II,

GROUP A, *c.* 278–274 B. C.

140. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I with comparatively youthful features, to r. Circle of dots around. The diadem-ends hang loosely, one falling downwards, the other turned upwards.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, naked but for drapery over his r. thigh, seated to l. upon the *omphalos*. In his outstretched r., the god holds *two* arrows; his l. hand rests upon his bow. Circle of dots. In the outer l. field, 𐤀; in the outer r. field, 𐤇𐤐.

α) London (Gardner No. 3, Pl. iii, 3), gr. 16.89; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 13, No. 12), gr. 16.90; γ) Cambridge (McClean Coll., No. 9255, Pl. 336, 3), gr. 16.93; δ) Sir H. Weber Coll. (Forrer No. 7848, Pl. 286), gr. 17.10. PLATE XIII, 7; ε) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 891, Pl. 31, gr. 17.18; ϛ) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1943, Pl. 56, gr. 17.01; ζ) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), gr. 15.71; η) Newell (= Headlam Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1916, No. 433, gr. 16.96. PLATE XIII, 8; θ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 777, Pl. xix), gr. 16.87; ι) Bompois Coll. (*Numismatische Zeitschrift* XLVI, 1913, Pl. ii, 13), gr. 17.03; κ) Leningrad (*J. i. n.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 136, No. 90), gr. 17.10.

141. TETRADRACHM

Similar to the preceding, but the features slightly older.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same two monograms.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 13, No. 11, Pl. lxiii, 24), gr. 16.76; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 846, Pl. 28 (= Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, 1905, No. 4432, Pl. lv) gr. 17.06; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1425, Pl. 50, gr. 17; δ) Newell, gr. 17.04, Plate XIII, 9; ε) London (Gardner, No. 5 = *Numismatische Zeitschrift* Vol XLVI, 1913, Pl. ii, 12), gr. 16.96.

142. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but with older features and of slightly different character.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same two monograms.

[75] *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII, p. 701.

α) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2930, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 16.98. PLATE XIII, 10; β) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1669, Pl. 57 (= Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 442, Pl. iii), gr. 17.02; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 845, Pl. 28 (= Benson Coll., Sotheby Sale, Feb. 1909, No. 756, Pl. xxv), gr. 17.16.

143. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. The diadem-ends are sometimes arranged as on the preceding coins, sometimes they both hang loosely downwards.

Similar to the preceding, except that, henceforth, Apollo holds only *one* arrow. The same two monograms as on Nos. 140–142.

α) Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4433, Pl. lv, gr. 17.08; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 847, Pl. 28, gr. 17.18; γ) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 760, Pl. 13, gr. 16.30; δ) Newell, gr. 16.69. PLATE XIII, 11.

144. DRACHM.

Diademed youthful head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same two monograms. The bow is here, exceptionally, of the composite type.

α) Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 646, Pl. xviii, gr. 4.16; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 872, Pl. 29, gr. 4.17; γ) Newell, gr. 3.63. PLATE XIII, 12.

145. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

Inscription as on the preceding coins. Helmeted Athena, armed with shield and spear, in fighting attitude to r. In l. field, ⊢Γ; in r. field, Δ.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 151, Pl. v, 1), gr. 15.65; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); γ) London (Gardner, No. 50, Pl. iv, 9); δ) Newell, gr. 12.90. PLATE XIII, 13; ε) Newell, gr. 15.14.

146. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α) Berlin; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 152), gr. 6.70; γ) Newell, gr. 5.91; δ) Rome (Vatican Coll.). PLATE XIII, 14; ε–η) Seleucia on the Tigris, p. 9, No. 16 (*a*), gr. 6.62; 6.53; 5.62; 5.54; θ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.* Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 136, No. 110), gr. 6.03; ι) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 15, No. 31), gr. 6.28; κ) Newell, gr. 5.26.

147. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

On r., BA; on l., AN. Same type and monograms as on the preceding.

α–β) *Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 9, No. 16 (*b*), gr. 3.25; 2.80.

GROUP B, *c.* 274–270 B. C.

148. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., similar to that found on Nos. 142–3. The diadem ends have the two positions described on No. 143.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo, holding a single arrow, seated l. on *omphalos*. In the exergue, Δ; in outer r. field, ⊢Γ.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., p. 13, No. 13), gr. 17.00; β) Hirsch Sale XIX, Nov. 1907, No. 595, Pl. xv, gr. 17.00; γ) Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 436, Pl. iii, gr. 17.04;

δ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.095; ε) Newell (=Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 848, Pl. 29), gr. 17.04. PLATE XIV, 1.

149. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but both diadem ends always hang downwards.

Similar to the preceding, except that Ⱥ is in the outer l. field, ⊢Ꝑ in the outer r. field.

α) London (Gardner, No. 6), gr. 17.10; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.095; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.05; δ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 16.54; ε) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 17.125; ζ) Newell, gr. 16.96; ζ) Newell, gr. 16.71; η) Newell (= Headlam Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1906, No. 433), gr. 16.82; θ) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge* etc., Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 357), gr. 17.13; ι) Sotheby Sale, July 1910, No. 118, Pl. v, gr. 17.07; κ) Luneau Coll., Platt Sale, March 1922, No. 721, Pl. xv; λ) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2786, Pl. lxxvii, gr. 17.13; μ) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1668, Pl. 57, gr. 17.01; ν) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 849, Pl. 29 (= Hess, Lucerne Sale, Dec. 1933, No. 94, Pl. 4), gr. 17.11; ξ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 850, Pl. 29, gr. 17.02; ο) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1944, Pl. 56, gr. 16.78; π) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 762, Pl. 13, gr. 16.75; ρ) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 761, Pl. 13, gr. 17.05; σ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1426, Pl. 50, gr. 16.9; τ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2931, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 17.04. PLATE XIV, 2; υ) Sir H. Weber Coll., Forrer, No. 7843, Pl. 286 (= Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 440, gr. 17.10; φ) Jenks Coll., Henry Chapman Sale, Dec. 1921, No. 148, Pl. 3; χ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. num.*, XIII, 1911, p. 136, No. 91), gr. 16.85; ψ) Collignon Sale, 1919, No. 382.

150. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 4.10.

151. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to No. 146.

Similar to No. 146, except that to l. of Athena is ⊢Ꝑ, to her r. is Ⱥ.

α) *London.* PLATE XIV, 3; β–γ) *Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 9, No. 16 (*b*), gr. 2.65; 2.63. β–γ may represent units.

152. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 149.

Similar to No. 149. In outer l. field, Ⱥ; in outer r. field, ⋔.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.20; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.125; γ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2933, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 17.14; δ) Cambridge (Leake Coll.). PLATE XIV, 4.

153. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 151.

Similar to No. 151. Only monogram visible, ⋔ (= ⋔?).

Seleucia on the Tigris, p. 9, No. 16 (*b*), gr. 2.05.

GROUP C, *c.* 270–267 B. C.

154. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to Nos. 149 and 152. The diadem ends hang straight.

Similar to Nos. 149 and 152. In l. field (between Apollo and legend), Ⱥ; in outer r. field, ⊗.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.67. PLATE XIV, 5; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.22. PLATE XIV, 6.

155. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡀; in outer r. field, 𐡎.

Type 1: the arrow held by Apollo breaks the inscription.

Type 2: The arrow is entirely to r. of the inscription, or only just touches it.

TYPE 1

α) Sambon Sale, Paris, March 1923, No. 529, Pl. viii (= Delbeke Coll., Sotheby Sale, April 1907, No. 216, Pl. vii = Walcher de Molthein Coll., 1895, No. 2873, Pl. xxiv), gr. 17.20; β) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2787, Pl. lxxvii, gr. 17.07; γ) White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 495, Pl. v; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 851, Pl. 29, gr. 17.03; ε) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 852, Pl. 29, gr. 17.00; ζ) Vogel Coll., Hess Sale, March 1929, No. 383, Pl. 10, gr. 16.98; ξ) Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 642, Pl. 15, gr. 17.06; η) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 839, Pl. 25, gr. 17.12; θ) Hamburger Sale 96, Oct. 1932, No. 167, Pl. 5, gr. 16.93; ι) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.93; κ) Newell, gr. 16.89; λ) Newell, gr. 16.66; μ) Berlin (Dannenberg Coll.), gr. 17.11. PLATE XIV, 7; ν) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.12; ξ) de Nanteuil Coll., No. 488, Pl. xxx, gr. 17.17; ο) Sir H. Weber Coll. (Forrer, No. 7844, Pl. 286), gr. 17.14.

TYPE 2

π) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2932, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 17.16; ρ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 853, Pl. 29, gr. 17.02; σ) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1945, Pl. 56 (= Locker-Lampson Coll., No. 344, Pl. xxvi), gr. 17.07; τ) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1946, Pl. 56, gr. 16.91; υ) Ciani Sale, June 1920, No. 131, Pl. iii (= Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 638, Pl. xviii), gr. 17.02; φ) Hirsch Sale XXXIV, May 1914, No. 501, Pl. xv, gr. 17.20; χ) Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 568, Pl. xvii, gr. 16.4; ψ) Löbbecke Coll., Hess Sale, Jan. 1926, No. 412, Pl. vii, gr. 16.9; ω) London (Gardner, No. 7, Pl. iii, 4), gr. 17.18; αα) Newell (= Egger Sale XLVI, May 1914, No. 2439, Pl. xxxix), gr. 16.46; ββ) Newell, gr. 17.10; γγ) Newell (= Ordoñes Coll., Schulman Fixed Price Cat. LXII, No. 346, Pl. v), gr. 17.11. PLATE XIV, 8; δδ) Berlin, gr. 16.98; εε) Glendining Sale, 1931, No. 1144; ζζ) Jameson Coll., No. 1668, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 17.11.

156. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 151.

Similar to No. 151. Athena's shield is sometimes in a horizontal position. To l. of Athena, 𐡄; to r. 𐡎.

α–γ) *Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 9, No. 16 (c), gr. 3.35; 2.95; 2.33; δ–ζ) *Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 10, No. 18, (Pl. ii), gr. 2.41; 1.10; 0.90.

157. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 155.

Similar to No. 155, Type 1. In outer l. field, 𐡀; in outer r. field, 𐡍.

α) Cambridge (McClean Coll., No. 9249, Pl. 335, 15), gr. 17.10; β) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1947, Pl. 56, gr. 17.07; γ) Schulman Sale, Dec. 1926, No. 198, Pl. ix (= Collignon Sale, Dec. 1919, No. 380), gr. 17.18; δ) Berlin (Knobelsdorf Coll.), gr. 17.175; ε) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); ζ) Newell, gr. 16.66. PLATE XIV, 9; ξ) Paris (Babelon, No. 118), gr. 17.05; η) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 16, Pl. lxiii, 25), gr. 17.04.

158. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same two monograms.

α) Löbbecke Coll., Hess Sale, Jan. 1926, No. 413, Pl. vii, gr. 4.1 = Cahn Sale 66, May 1930, No. 365, Pl. 11, gr. 4.13; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 873, Pl. 30, gr. 3.98; γ) Newell, gr. 3.38; δ) Newell, gr. 3.73. PLATE XIV, 10.

SERIES II

GROUP A, *c.* 278–274 B. C.

From this point forward, the several dies used at Seleucia have not been furnished with separate numbers as the issues are large, and little is to be gained by such a refinement of detail. To do so, would also have entailed the securing of hundreds of casts from the various private and public collections upon whose generosity an already too heavy burden has been laid by the present writer. In addition, the more the series is studied, the more it becomes evident that but a small proportion of the original dies is now known and that future finds will assuredly add very greatly to their number. It would therefore be mistaken zeal to increase the bulk of our catalogue by listing the individual dies, and a commensurate advantage seems to be lacking. Every known major variety, however, is given, but no claim is made to a complete assemblage of known specimens. Those recorded have been gathered, somewhat at random, from available catalogues possessing photographic reproductions of the coins in question. Sometimes specimens, of whose particular variety there can be no doubt, have been culled from the carefully compiled catalogues of certain well-known public collections; but as a rule such unillustrated pieces have been omitted.

The coin issues of Series II form a comprehensive whole, although for convenience' sake they have here been divided into three consecutive groups, lettered A, B, and C, respectively. Obviously, the entire Series comprises a very extensive coinage which must have required a number of years for its production. The somewhat arbitrary dates of *c.* 278 to 267 B. C. have been adopted for the series as a whole. No less arbitrary are the proposed dates 278–274, 274–270, 270–267 for the respective subdivisions A, B, and C. Evidence in support of these dates, however, will from time to time be adduced in the course of our discussion of the coins themselves. It is doubtful if absolute certainty in the matter of dating can be obtained without the assistance of hoards buried in the east during these particular years. Unfortunately, such hoards are still lacking.

It is to be noted that on the first three varieties of the tetradrachms of the new type (Nos. 140–142), Apollo holds two arrows in his right hand. Six, in his interesting study[76] of certain Seleucid coins, has laid considerable stress on the instances in which Apollo is depicted as holding two, or even three, instead of the more usual single arrow. He proposed the theory that these arrows were a subtle means em-

[76] *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 228ff.

ployed by the engravers to denote the number of scions of the Seleucid royal family living at a given time. Thus, two arrows typify the joint rule of Antiochus I and his younger son Antiochus (II) after 266 B. C.; while the three arrows indicate the birth (in 265 B. C. ?) of an heir to the latter. The present writer seriously doubts if the arrows held any such connotation to the ancients, especially as the dates assigned by Six to these particular coins are demonstrably erroneous. In the opening group of Series II Apollo does hold two arrows, which toward the close of the issue are reduced to one. It so happens that, according to dates proposed for Group A, this change would seem to have taken place about the year 276–275 B. C. Now, a cuneiform tablet (No. 92,688) in the British Museum shows that the court had removed to Sardes in 276 B. C.[77] and there, the tablet further states, Antiochus soon after "left his court, his wife and the crown prince (Seleucus) in Sipardu (Sardes) to keep a strong guard." It is probably but a curious coincidence upon which it would be most unwise to lay any weight, that the single arrow replaces the two arrows at just about the time the crown prince left Seleucia for Sardes. We do not know if he ever returned to Babylonia, but the fact remains that, henceforth, only one arrow is ever found in Apollo's hand on the issues of Seleucia.

The first group (A) of Series II is signed by the two officials 𐤀 and 𐤇, whose monograms have already been seen on the coins of Series I. The two series are thus inseparably linked together, and Group A is established as the opening one of Series II. The tetradrachm No. 140 (PLATE XIII, 7–8) is in style obviously the earliest of the group. This observation is further supported by the fact that its portrait is certainly the youngest in appearance of any that we possess of Antiochus I. Its contours and character agree well with the fact that Antiochus was a man of forty-five when he succeeded to his father's throne in 280 B. C. Stylistically and according to the sequence of monograms, Group A must come at the head of the long series of similar coins (PLATES XIII–XVI) which for the next thirty-odd years emanated from the mint at Seleucia. Nowhere else in this extensive series can it be made to fit. This fact must dispose, once and for all, of the attempt to recognize in the comparatively youthful features of the head on No. 140 a portrait of Antiochus II.[78] As we have seen, the coins can only be those of Antiochus I for the early years of his reign, and the portrait must consequently be his. Furthermore, the features bear no resemblance whatsoever to those of Antiochus II, whose true physiognomy has now been definitely established by Sir George Macdonald.[79]

After the temporary use on No. 141 (PLATE XIII, 9) of a modified portrait, we find a distinctly older head appearing on Nos. 142 and 143 (PLATE XIII, 10–11). This type is more in accord with what has been generally recognized and accepted as the true portrait of Antiochus I. But after deepening the wrinkles, it only con-

[77] Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 152ff.

[78] Bunbury, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, pp. 76–7; Six, *loc. cit.* pp. 227–8. They are followed by Babelon, Introd., pp. lxii–lxiii; Imhoof-Blumer, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 181; Hill, *Greek Coins and their Parent Cities*, p. 125, No. 777; Grose, *McClean Collection*, Vol. III, No. 9255; and by many sales catalogues.

[79] Early Seleucid Portraits, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, pp. 108ff.

tinues and accentuates the deep-set eye, the beetling brow and the long upper lip so characteristic of the younger head on No. 140. On all of these coins the diadem-ends assume a special position, the nearest one hanging straight down, while the furthest, after hanging down for a short distance, then turns upwards again at a sharp angle.

The introduction of the seated Apollo type on the reverse inaugurates this as the standard reverse design of the Seleucid silver coinage. With only one major and one minor interval, it continued to be used until the middle of the reign of Antiochus IV, over a hundred years later. Even then it reappeared, although intermittently, in the reigns of Antiochus V, Demetrius I; and actively, once more, under Alexander I (on the drachms), in the first reign of Demetrius II, and on the drachms of Antiochus VI. Although Apollo's head had appeared from time to time on the bronze coinages of Seleucus I, it was Antiochus I who definitely and consistently proclaimed the divine origin of the dynasty by means of the far-travelling silver tetradrachm.

In close connection with the tetradrachms Nos. 140–43, and signed by the same two magistrates, a prolific issue of bronze pieces (Nos. 145–7, PLATE XIII, 13–14), in three denominations as usual, now appeared at Seleucia. The flans of this new issue of bronze coins are not quite so obviously bevelled as had been those of Series II under Seleucus I, although there is a definite tendency in this direction. The choice of Apollo's head for the obverse type also serves to associate these coins with the accompanying silver. This head, as well as the fighting Athena of the reverse, carries on a tradition already established on earlier issues of Seleucus.[80] This particular variety of bronze coin turned up in considerable numbers in the excavations at Seleucia. Dr. McDowell has listed sixteen specimens[81] of various denominations. This fact definitely establishes their assignment to the Seleucian mint; and with them, that of the accompanying silver which bears the same monograms. That the tetradrachms and drachm Nos. 140–44, originated in Babylonia was first clearly recognized by Six,[82] while the present writer had long assigned these coins to Seleucia on the basis of style, usual provenance and because, by elimination, no other mint is possible for them.

That the new coinage was prolific is not surprising. After the change in design from the old fashioned Alexander type to one more personal to Antiochus and his dynasty, it would have been politically desirable to establish thoroughly the new coin. Very possibly the earlier issues were now melted down to provide the necessary bullion, thus accounting for their great rarity today. In any event, we know that throughout the year 278–277, Antiochus was waging a desperate struggle in Syria to suppress the dangerous rebellion which had broken out there. Babylonia doubtless constituted his principal base of supplies. Hardly had the revolt been suppressed when the Egyptian army burst into Coele-Syria and recaptured Damascus.

[80] Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Pl. ii, 13. For Seleucia itself, compare the fighting Athena in her elephant chariot on the silver, Apollo's head on certain bronze coins in Series II.

[81] *Loc. cit.*, p. 9, No. 16.

[82] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 219–228.

The resources of Antiochus were now strained to the uttermost, and we know, with unusual certainty, that at this juncture he drew heavily on Babylon and Seleucia. It is definitely stated (lines 11–13),[83] in the tablet mentioned above, that "In Adar on the 24th the governor of Akkad despatched *a great quantity of silver*, cloth stuffs, furniture and gear from Babylon and Seleucia, the royal city, and 20 elephants which the governor of Bactria had sent to the king, to Ebir-nari to the king."

Dearth settled on Babylonia and it is further stated (line 14) that "In that year they paid current prices in Babylon and the cities in copper coins of Greece." In the following year it was even worse, for the tablet continues (lines 20–21) "There was famine in Akkad. The people hired their children for silver. The people died of hunger. In that year (the 37th) there was much scabies in the country. They paid current prices in Babylon and the cities in copper coins of Greece." Smith's explanatory statement[84] that "The introduction of a copper coinage was always considered a hardship" hardly applies in this instance. If the copper coinage, by hard necessity, was actually being issued *in place* of silver, this might well be considered a hardship. But this was not the case here, for not only did the coinage of this very period consist of *both* silver and copper pieces, but the silver was evidently being struck in large quantities. What the passage must mean, in the light of our present knowledge, is that the times were so bad in the 36th and 37th years of the Seleucid era (between Nisan 277 and Nisan 275 B. C.) that silver had practically vanished[85] from circulation and only copper remained. This state of affairs had probably resulted because large quantities, if not all, of the silver actually being minted was forwarded to Antiochus for the use of his army in Syria[86] and, furthermore, because of the economic strain with its concomitant famine and pestilence, and the denudation of the country for military purposes, what silver remained was being taken out of circulation and hoarded—a usual phenomenon accompanying such a situation. Consequently, the populace was thrown back, willy-nilly, upon the use of copper money. This constituted a hardship, particularly to the Babylonians who had grown accustomed to the almost exclusive use of silver as the principal circulating medium. The Achaemenid kings had never coined copper for use in Babylonia.[87] The present writer knows of no copper coins having been issued in Babylonia between the arrival of Alexander and their first introduction under Seleucus, as described above.[88] The term used twice on our tablet, "copper coins of Greece," evidently does not mean—as suggested by Smith—that recourse was had to actual copper coins of Greece, or that, as a corollary, no coins were struck

[83] Sidney Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 156.

[84] *Loc. cit.*, p. 158, Note 14.

[85] There must have been at least *some* silver still circulating, for in line 20 it is said that "The people hired their children for *silver*," if the passage is to be taken literally.

[86] As clearly stated in lines 11–13 of the tablet.

[87] In Persian contract tablets from Babylonia it is seldom or never that payment in anything but gold, silver or "in kind" is mentioned.

[88] Pp. 18–19.

by Antiochus in Babylonia until after 276 B. C. It does mean that, to the Babylonians, copper coinage was essentially a Greek practice and had first been introduced by them into the country. By the natives, therefore, all copper coins would be dubbed "*Greek.*"

GROUP B, *c.* 274–270 B. C.

The coins of Group B continue the types of the tetradrachm No. 143 and of the bronze coins Nos. 145–7. Throughout the group the chief magistrate is 𐡀, whose monogram had already appeared in Series I. At first (Nos. 148–51), his subordinate is the 𐡄𐡓 who had assisted in signing all the coins of Series II, Group A. Towards the close of the present issue he is replaced by 𐡌, Nos. 152–3, PLATE XIV, 4.

The type of portraiture employed is very much the same as that found on No. 143. We also find a continuation of the two fashions there used to depict the diadem-ends. Thus, by means of artist's mannerisms, style, fabric and the carrying over of certain monograms from previous issues, we can be assured that Nos. 148–153 belong to the same mint as Nos. 134–147, i. e., Seleucia. The fact that specimens of the accompanying bronze coins were also found at Seleucia, establishes the correctness of the attribution.

GROUP C, *c.* 270–267 B. C.

The silver coins of Group C continue to be supervised by the 𐡀 of the preceding groups. Two new subordinates make their appearance on the silver, 𐡎 and 𐡓. The portraiture continues a development that at times threatens to become slightly stereotyped, as seen in the over-accentuation of the heavy, straight line of the brow and a somewhat pathetic expression in the deep-set eye.[89] This pathos of expression is in conformity with a growing tendency in this direction exhibited by contemporary Hellenistic art and taste. Some fine and impressive portraits, however, still frequently occur, which present a most striking characterization of Antiochus as an elderly man, his face now grown fuller but with deepening lines of care about his cheek, mouth and chin. On the final tetradrachm, No. 157 (PLATE XIV, 9), the portrait has become somewhat less convincing and more stereotyped. Throughout the issue the diadem-ends hang stiffly behind, in an almost straight line.

The coinage must have been very large, especially in the case of No. 155, whose reverses offer two different but contemporary schemes of design. In type 1 (PLATE XIV, 7), the established formula is followed, with its comparatively large Apollo figure whose arrow and outstretched r. hand cut clean across the king's name, dividing it between the *tau* and the *iota*. In type 2 (PLATE XIV, 8), the figure is smaller, the right arm slightly more bent, while the arrow is entirely inside the line of the inscription, or just barely breaking it with the tip only. Type 2 occurs solely on specimens of No. 155, and is never again found at Seleucia.

The bronze coin No. 156, continues the types to which we have become accustomed. It is signed not by the chief magistrate himself but by the subordinate 𐡎,

[89] Compare especially the specimens γ, δ, ζ, ο, of No. 155.

who is here accompanied by an assistant whose monogram now appears for the first, and last, time.

Once more, examples of all the bronze coins described appeared in the excavations at Seleucia, which fact, combined with the style, fabric and continuance of certain magistrates' monograms on the silver, assures the attribution of this entire group to the mint of Seleucia.

SERIES III

GROUP A, *c.* 267–265 B. C.

159. TETRADRACHM.

Elderly head of Antiochus I, diademed, to r. Circle of dots. The diadem-ends hang stiffly downwards.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, naked but for drapery over r. thigh, seated to l. on the *omphalos*. He holds an arrow in his outstretched r., and rests l. upon his bow. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field,  . Circle of dots.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 865, Pl. 30, gr. 16.90; β) Ratto Sale, June 1929, No. 503, Pl. xxiii, gr. 16.90; γ) Ratto Sale, Oct. 1934, No. 232, Pl. vii, gr. 16.60; δ) London (Gardner, No. 10), gr. 17.12; ε) Paris (Babelon, No. 129), gr. 17.; ϛ) Paris (Babelon, No. 130, Pl. iv, 13), gr. 16.95; ζ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.018; η) Berlin (countermarked for Byzantium. Macdonald in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 92, No. 8, Pl. iv, 8), gr. 16.65; θ) Newell, gr. 17.06. PLATE XIV, 11; ι) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 18), gr. 17.05; κ) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Pl. xviii, No. 355), gr. 16.99; λ) American Numismatic Society, gr. 16.94.

160. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots.

Same inscription and types as on the preceding. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field, .

London (Gardner, p. 9, No. 11), gr. 16.82. PLATE XIV, 12.

161. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo with long hair, three-quarters facing to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Winged and draped figure of Nike advancing r., and with outstretched arms touching a trophy of arms erected on a tree stump. In outer l. field, . The monogram in the outer r. field is off flan. Circle of dots.

α) Newell, gr. 2.82. PLATE XIV, 13; β) Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2889, Pl. xxiv.

GROUP B, *c.* 265–264 B. C.

162. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 160. The portrait at times becomes almost a caricature. The diadem-ends hang straight.

Similar to No. 160. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field, .

α) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1670, Pl. 57 (= O'Hagan Coll., Sotheby 1908, No. 643), gr. 17.17; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 856, Pl. 29, gr. 17.08; γ) Schles-

singer Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1428, Pl. 50, gr. 17.1; δ) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 414, Pl. 13, gr. 17.12; ε) Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2876, Pl. xxiv, gr. 16.95; ϕ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 114), gr. 17.; η) Newell, gr. 17.07. PLATE XV, 1; θ) Leningrad (Jour. Int. Num. XIII, 1911, p. 135, No. 87), gr. 16.95.

163. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to No. 161.

Similar to No. 161. In outer l. field, 𐡄. In outer r. field, 𐡀.

Berlin, gr. 8.90.

164. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α–β) Seleucia, pp. 10–11, No. 20, gr. 3.25, 3.04. Two further specimens of the Seleucia finds may belong here; but as only the r. hand monogram remains, the coins might also be No. 168.

165. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.).

GROUP C, *c.* 264–263 B. C.

166. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed elderly head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots. Both style and portrait are greatly improved over those of Nos. 159 and 162, although the relief is lower. The diadem-ends are always depicted as fluttering.

Similar to No. 162. In outer l. field, 𐡄. In outer r. field, 𐡋. Circle of dots.

α) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1949, Pl. 56, gr. 17.12; β) Helbing Sale, Oct. 1927, No. 3122, Pl. 59, gr. 17.; γ) Helbing Sale, Nov. 1928, No. 4058, Pl. 73, gr. 17.1. PLATE XV, 2; δ) Cahn Sale 65, Oct. 1929, No. 253, Pl. 8, gr. 17.25; ε) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 857, Pl. 29, gr. 16.68; ϕ) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 642, Pl. xvii, gr. 16.66; ζ) Platt Sale, June 1925, No. 156, Pl. iii, gr. 16.35; η) Basel Sale 4, Oct. 1935, No. 868, Pl. 30, gr. 17.09; θ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.135; ι) Paris (Babelon, No. 113, Pl. iv, 9), gr. 17.

167. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to No. 163.

Similar to No. 163. In outer l. field, 𐡋. In outer r. field, 𐡀.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 177, Pl. v, 10), gr. 7.65. PLATE XV, 3; β) Paris (*Mission en Susiane*, 1934, Vol. XXV, p. 108, No. 26, Pl. viii), gr. 6.5875. PLATE XV, 4; γ) Newell (from Baghdad), gr. 7.41.

168. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 164.

Similar to No. 164, and with the same two monograms as on the preceding.

α–β) Seleucia, pp. 10–11, No. 20, gr. 3.46, 3.34; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 179), gr. 2.10; δ) Newell (= Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale, XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), gr. 3.93; ε) Newell, gr. 3.40. PLATE XV, 5; ϕ) Paris (Babelon, No. 178, Pl. v, 11), gr. 2.90; ζ) Paris, from Susa.

169. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 180), gr. 1.50. PLATE XV, 6; β) Paris, from Susa. PLATE XV, 7.

GROUP D, *c.* 263–261 B. C.

170. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Antiochus I to r. as on No. 166. Fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots. Similar to No. 166. In outer l. field, 卅. In outer r. field, ⊛.

α) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2438, Pl. lxi, gr. 16.93; β) London (Gardner, No. 17), gr. 17.04; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 115), gr. 16.80. PLATE XV, 8; δ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 136, No. 89), gr. 16.8.

171. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding coin. Similar to the preceding coin, and with the same two monograms.

α) Berlin (very poor); β) Paris (Babelon, No. 116, Pl. iv, 10), gr. 4.18. PLATE XV, 9.

172. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to No. 167. Similar to No. 167. In outer l. field, ⊛. In outer r. field, 𐡎.

London (Gardner, No. 51. The left-hand monogram is erroneously reproduced in the catalogue), gr. 8.85. PLATE XV, 10.

173. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 168. Similar to No. 168 and with the same monograms as the preceding.

α) London (Gardner, No. 53, Pl. iv, 10), gr. 3.82. PLATE XV, 11; β) London (Gardner, No. 54); γ–ζ) Seleucia, pp. 10–11, No. 20, gr. 3.85, 3.83, 3.46, 3.34.

174. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Athena to r., wearing a crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. upon bow. In outer l. field, ⊛. In outer r. field, 𐡎.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 6.68. PLATE XV, 12.

175. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding type. Similar to the preceding type and with the same monograms.

α–β) Seleucia, p. 12, No. 24, gr. 4.21, 3.91; γ) Newell, gr. 4.00. PLATE XV, 13.

176. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding type. Similar to the preceding type and probably with the same monograms.

α–γ) Seleucia, p. 12, No. 24, gr. 1.58, 1.37, 1.00; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 188, Pl. v, 16), gr. 1.70. PLATE XV, 14.

177. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Antiochus I to r., as on No. 170. Fluttering diadem-ends.

Similar to No. 170. In outer l. field, ⋕. In outer r. field, 🏵.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 854, Pl. 29, gr. 16.93; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 855, Pl. 29, gr. 17.08; γ) Naville Sale XIII, June 1928, No. 914, Pl. 27, gr. 17.09; δ) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 413, Pl. 13, gr. 17.; ε) London (Gardner, No. 15), gr. 16.93; ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 117), gr. 16.90; ζ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 15.90; η–θ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.095 and 17.14; ι) Newell, gr. 16.63. PLATE XV, 15; κ) Commerce; λ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 135, No. 88), gr. 16.55; μ) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 19, Pl. lxiv, 1), gr. 16.96; ν) Butler Coll., Sotheby 1911, No. 243.

SERIES III

GROUP A, *c.* 267–265 B. C.

A new series of issues now commences at Seleucia which, so far as the silver pieces are concerned, at first continues the same types, fabric and general style of the final issues of Series II. In the first group (A), however, two new magistrates make their appearance. The elderly head of Antiochus presents very much the same physiognomy as in the immediately preceding issue, but the diadem-ends now tend to hang even more stiffly than they have hitherto.

Accompanying these silver coins is a new issue of bronze units[90] whose obverses bear a three-quarters facing head of Apollo (PLATE XIV, 13). The reverse type of the Nike and trophy is new for the issues of Antiochus I, although it is obviously inspired by the Persepolitan silver issues (PLATE XXXII) of Seleucus I. The most suitable occasion for the introduction of such a type would seem to have been after the peace of 272 B. C.[91] By it, Antiochus had finally emerged with some success from the many rebellions, Gallic raids and foreign invasions which had made the first eight years of his reign so troubled. To move Series III, Group A, containing this victory type, back from the date assigned to it here, would mean not only to compress too greatly the numerous and prolific issues of Series I and II, but also thereby to cause the remaining Seleucian issues of the reign to be spread rather too thinly over the years from 272 to 261 B. C. After 272 B. C., and until we reach the year 263, our ancient sources tell us practically nothing concerning the history of Antiochus and his empire. Either there had occurred, in or around 268–267 B. C., some event[92] which Antiochus deemed worthy of record on his issues at Seleucia,

[90] Probably the "double" and the "half" also once existed, although no examples of these denominations bearing the monograms of Group A have as yet been published. All three denominations occur in the succeeding Group B.

[91] Beloch, IV, 1, p. 586; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII, p. 704.

[92] Possibly some victory in the east. The spectacular victory over the Gauls, in consequence of which Antiochus received the proud title of *Soter* from his grateful subjects, might also come under consideration because its actual date has not been transmitted to us. Tarn (*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII, p. 702) assigns it to the year 275 B. C., as does also Bouché-Leclercq, p. 64. Beloch (IV, 1, pp. 591–2, footnote 2) gives reasons for believing that the victory could not have taken place previous to the First Syrian War or after 266 B. C. If the latter date be the correct one, then the sudden appearance of the Victory type in our Series III, Group A, would be amply explained.

or the authorities there felt that the old types employed on the bronze coinage had now lasted long enough (actually, over ten years). In the latter case, the new types may have borne a general, rather than some specific, implication. As we have been led to assign Group A of Series III to about 267–265 B. C., it is possible that new types were inaugurated on the bronze coins at the time (266 B. C.) Antiochus I associated his second son, Antiochus, in the government with himself. Probably the latter now took up his residence in Seleucia as viceroy of the east, exactly as Antiochus I had done when associated in the government by his father, Seleucus I. Victory types of happy augury might well have been introduced on such an auspicious occasion.

GROUP B, *c.* 265–264 B. C.

The tetradrachms of this group continue the style of those immediately preceding, but the head of Antiochus is now so stereotyped that at times it degenerates into caricature.[93] Not only are these tetradrachms associated with those of Group A by the general style of their portraits, but they are also connected with the silver coins Nos. 157–8 of Series II, Group C, by the reappearance of the magistrate's monogram 𐡀—showing that we still have to do with the issues of a single mint.

The accompanying bronze coins Nos. 163–5, in the customary three denominations, continue the types introduced in Group A. Several specimens turned up in the excavations at Seleucia.

GROUP C, *c.* 264–263 B. C.

Although signed by the same two officials as the coins of Group B, the present tetradrachm No. 166 (PLATE XV, 2) introduces a new type of portrait. Obviously the features are still those of Antiochus I. On the other hand, they are no longer caricatures but are ably and carefully executed. They are life-like and convincing, and in quality and general excellence closely approach some of the finest products of Series II, Group C. In relief, however, they are slightly lower, and the diadem-ends flutter out behind in undulating lines. This new manner of depicting the diadem-ends continues not only throughout the use of the type until the end of Antiochus II's reign, but, only slightly modified, is found even thereafter at Seleucia under Seleucus II, Seleucus III and Antiochus III.

Accompanying bronze coins (Nos. 167–9, PLATE XV, 3–7), bearing the same types as under Groups A and B, continue to be issued in three denominations. They are all signed by the supervisor 𐡀, accompanied by the monogram of his assistant. Altogether, thirteen specimens of the victory type have come to us from the excavations at Seleucia, but because of their generally poor condition their monograms are now more or less obscure[94] and it is, consequently, not always possible to assign the several examples to their proper places in Groups A, B and C.

[93] Cf. PLATE XV, 1 and also the specimens β, γ, and δ of No. 162.

[94] Because of their corroded state, the monograms, as given by Dr. McDowell in his description of the coins found at Seleucia, do not always agree with the monograms as found on better preserved specimens. The one he renders as 𐡕 is almost certainly 𐡔; 𐡀 is 𐡀 and 𐡄 is 𐡇.

GROUP D, *c.* 263–261 B. C.

The tetradrachms of Group D are obviously the successors of No. 166 of Group C, and are somewhat less fine in style. They are signed by the same supervisor, ⋕, as in Group C, accompanied now by two further assistants. The second of these, ⚘, may well be the same person as ⚘, but using a slightly changed monogram.[95] The first, ⊛, had previously been active in Series II, Group C, where he signed Nos. 154–6.

After an initial coinage (Nos. 172–3, PLATE XV, 10–11) of the old type, a further issue of bronze (Nos. 174–6, PLATE XV, 12–14) is brought out, with new types and in the usual three denominations. On the obverse we now find a helmeted head of Athena, copied from the gold staters of Alexandrine type coined at Seleucia under Seleucus I. The reverse type is the standing Apollo, with an arrow in his outstretched right and his left placed upon a bow, the other end of which rests upon the ground. This is the first time at the mint of Seleucia that we meet with the type of the standing Apollo, a type that at her sister mints is destined to become very popular indeed under Seleucus II, Antiochus III and Alexander I, as well as under later kings. The officials signing this copper issue are the ⍟ who appears as ⊛ on the silver, Nos. 170–1, and the ⋿ who had functioned on the bronze coins Nos. 172–3.

As a résumé of Series III, we repeat that it is obviously the successor of Series II. It continues the types and fabric of the latter, and develops the style as first found at the close of Series II. For these reasons, and because among its officiating magistrates are found several individuals who had also placed their monograms on both Series I and II, there can be no doubt that we are dealing with the issues of the same mint. As stated before, the definite proof that this mint is Seleucia on the Tigris resides in the fact that specimens of the accompanying bronze coins were found in large numbers in the excavations of that city.

The final years of Antiochus I's reign were darkened by the unlucky war with Eumenes of Pergamum, ending in the disastrous defeat inflicted by him upon Antiochus beneath the walls of Sardes. Antiochus I died shortly afterwards, leaving his empire to his second son Antiochus II, surnamed Theos.

ANTIOCHUS II

261–246 B. C.

When Antiochus II, on the death of his father, succeeded to the Seleucid throne, events in the west apparently completely engrossed his attention. War with Ptolemy for the recovery of the coasts of Asia Minor, campaigns in Thrace, and other affairs left Antiochus little leisure to devote himself,[96] as did his father, to the welfare of the eastern portion of his empire. The historical results we see in the defection of Bactria and the revolt of Parthia.

[95] Both forms appear to resolve themselves most easily into the letters ΔΩP.
[96] Beloch IV. 1, p. 669.

The ensuing coinage from the mint at Seleucia may perhaps also be taken as evidence of the policy (whether premeditated, or forced upon him by events, history must decide) which tended towards allowing the east to look after itself as best it might. Whatever the cause, the silver coinage inaugurated by Antiochus I was continued practically unchanged throughout the entire reign of his son. Nothing but the slowly deteriorating style, the changing magistrates' monograms, and the accompanying bronze coinage with its varying types, serve to suggest that the empire was now being ruled by another person than he whose rugged portrait the tetradrachms still continue to bear.

SERIES I, *c.* 261–256 B. C.

178. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. within a circle of dots. The diadem-ends flutter out behind, as on No. 166.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, naked but for drapery on r. thigh, seated to l. on the *omphalos*. He rests his l. hand on the bow, while in his outstretched r. he holds an arrow. In the outer l. field,  . In the outer r. field,  . Circle of dots.

α) Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4435, Pl. lv, gr. 17.06; *β*) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2935, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 16.94; *γ*) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1948, Pl. 56, gr. 17.05; *δ*) Cahn Sale 80, Feb. 1933, No. 383, Pl. 13, gr. 15.79; *ε*) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 756, Pl. 13, gr. 16.95; *ϛ*) London (Gardner, No. 14), gr. 16.78; *ζ*) Paris (Babelon, No. 127), gr. 17.; *η*) Berlin (Fox Coll.); *θ*) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 776, Pl. xix), gr. 17.05; *ι*) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 21), gr. 16.87; *κ*) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard); *λ*) Newell, gr. 16.91. PLATE XV, 16; *μ*) Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 569, Pl. xvii, gr. 17.; *ν*) Bourgey Sale, 1911, No. 163, Pl. iv.

179. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field,  . In outer r. field,  .

α) Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1035, Pl. 16 (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 863, Pl. 29), gr. 16.98; *β*) Newell (from the same obverse and reverse die as the preceding), gr. 16.87; *γ*) London (Gardner, No. 13), gr. 16.94; *δ*) Aberdeen (Newnham-Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 356), gr. 16.37; *ε*) Paris (Babelon, No. 128, Pl. iv, 12), gr. 17.10; *ϛ*) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.08; *ζ*) Newell, gr. 16.07; *η*) Newell, gr. 17.03. PLATE XV, 17.

180. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field,  . In outer r. field,  .

α) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 759, Pl. 13, gr. 16.05; *β*) Grabow Sale, July 1930, No. 547, Pl. viii, gr. 17.01; *γ*) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 862, Pl. 29, gr. 16.97; *δ*) London (Gardner, No 12), gr. 17.08; *ε*) Paris (Babelon, No. 126), gr. 17.10; *ϛ*) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 20), gr. 16.76; *ζ*) Newell, gr. 16.69; *η*) Newell, gr. 16.47. PLATE XVI. 1.

181. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field,  . In outer r. field,  .

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 864, Pl. 29 (= Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2934, Pl. lxxxv = Glendining Sale, March 1931, No. 1145), gr. 17.04. PLATE XVI, 2; β) Cahn Sale 61, Dec. 1928, No. 161, Pl. v, gr. 17.05; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); δ) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 22), gr. 16.76; ε) Newell, gr. 15.98.

182. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.
Laureate bust of Apollo three-quarters facing to l. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo nude, standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r. and rests l. upon bow. In outer r. field, ⋈.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.85. PLATE XVI, 3.

183. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

London (Gardner, p. 12, No. 55, Pl. iv, 11), gr. 8.10. PLATE XVI, 4.

184. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α) Leningrad (*Jour. int. num.*, Vol. XII, 1911, p. 138, No. 132), gr. 4.33; β–η) Seleucia, p. 12, No. 25, gr. 2.65; 2.51; 2.46; 2.25; 2.19; 1.86; 1.49; θ) London, gr. 2.47. PLATE XVI, 5; ι–κ) Paris (*Mission en Susiane*, 1928, Vol. XX, p. 23, No. 7). PLATE XVI, 6.

185. BRONZE UNIT.
Laureate head of Apollo to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l, as on the silver coins. In outer r. field, ⋈.

α–η) Seleucia, pp. 13–14, No. 28, gr. 3.10; 2.93; 2.90; 2.65; 2.65; 2.61; 2.09; 2.01.

SERIES II, *c.* 256–255 B. C.

186. TETRADRACHM.
Laureate head of Antiochus I to r., as on Nos. 178–81.

Inscription and type as on Nos. 178–81. In outer l. field, Ⱥ. In outer r. field, ⋔.

α) London (Gardner, No. 9), gr. 17.03; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 122), gr. 16.60; γ) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 24), gr. 17.04; δ) Newell, gr. 15.53; ε) Newell, gr. 16.98. PLATE XVI, 7.

SERIES III, *c.* 255–246 B. C.

187. GOLD STATER.
Diademed head of Antiochus I to r., as on the preceding coin.

Types and inscription as on the preceding coin. In outer l. field, ⋈.

Istanbul (*Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1908–1910, p. 258, No. 1, Pl. 62, 82), gr. 8.54. PLATE XVI, 8.

188. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ⋈. In outer r. field, ⋔.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 858, Pl. 29, gr. 16.92; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 859, Pl. 29, gr. 16.96; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 123), gr. 17.10; δ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.),

gr. 16.797; ε) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 23), gr. 17.06; ζ) Newell, gr. 16.46. PLATE XVI, 9.

189. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field, .

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 860, Pl. 29, gr. 17.04; β) Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 518, Pl. 16 (= Cahn Sale 66, May 1930, No. 364, Pl. 11), gr. 17.13; γ) Cahn Sale 84, Nov. 1933, No. 405, Pl. 14, gr. 16.89; δ) Schlessinger Sale 11, Feb. 1934, No. 329, Pl. 10, gr. 16.; ε) Berlin Duplicates, Riechmann Sale 30, Dec. 1924, No. 757, Pl. xxx, gr. 17.06; ζ) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 644, Pl. xvii, gr. 17.04; ζ) London (Gardner, No. 18), gr. 16.96; η) Paris (Babelon, No. 124), gr. 16.90; θ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); ι) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 25), gr. 16.98; κ) Newell, gr. 17.07; λ) Newell, gr. 17.14. PLATE XVI, 10.

190. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field, .

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 861, Pl. 29, gr. 16.94; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 125), gr. 16.95; γ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 136, No. 92), gr. 16.85; δ) Newell, gr. 16.35; ε) Newell, gr. 16.92. PLATE XVI, 11.

191. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r., as on No. 190.

Inscription and type similar to No. 190. In outer l. field,  . In outer r. field,  .

Berlin, gr. 16.86. PLATE XVI, 12.

BRONZE. GROUP a.

192. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Helmeted and draped figure of Athena standing to l., her r. hand rests on her spear, her l. upon her hip. Her shield leans against the r. leg. In outer l. field,  . In inner r. field,  .

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 156, Pl. v, 3), gr. 7.65; β) Berlin, gr. 6.925; γ) Berlin, gr. 7.60. PLATE XVI, 13; δ) Seleucia, p. 10, No. 19, gr. 7.90; ε) London, gr. 6.84. PLATE XVI, 14; ζ) London, gr. 6.22. PLATE XVI, 15.

193. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Berlin, gr. 3.49; β) Berlin, gr. 2.77; γ) London. PLATE XVI, 16.

194. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

Seleucia, p. 10, No. 19, gr. 1.75.

BRONZE. GROUP b.

195. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Draped bust of Athena, wearing triple-crested helmet, three-quarters facing l. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated, half facing, on *omphalos* to r. He holds a lyre with his l. Sometimes his r. is dropped at his side, sometimes it is resting on his lap. Behind him is a tall tripod. In outer l. field, ⋈Γ. In outer r. field, ⅄ .

α) London (Gardner, p. 13, No. 56, Pl. iv, 12); β) Paris (Babelon, No. 186, Pl. v, 15), gr. 6.90; γ) Berlin; δ) Newell, gr. 8.85. PLATE XVI, 17.

196. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 187), gr. 3.65; β) Berlin; γ–δ) Seleucia, p. 11, No. 22, gr. 4.30; 3.41; ε) Newell, gr. 3.80. PLATE XVI, 18.

197. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α–β) Seleucia, p. 11, No. 22, gr. 1.02; 0.58.

198. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding but Athena faces three-quarters r.

Similar to the preceding. Monograms obscure.

α–θ) Seleucia, p. 12, No. 23, gr. 4.25; 3.66; 3.62; 3.57; 3.37; 3.16; 3.14; 2.30; 1.89.

It is very doubtful if this final variety actually exists. On corroded specimens (as those from Seleucia) the obverse type could equally well be a facing Artemis head. In that case, these coins are identical with No. 246 and should be transferred to the reign of Antiochus III.

BRONZE. GROUP c.

199. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo facing three-quarters to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Tripod with pendant fillets. In inner r. field, ⋀ (?). Circle of dots.

? Some of the specimens from Seleucia, p. 11, No. 21 ?; α) Paris, from Susa. PLATE XVI, 19.

200. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with an anchor beneath the tripod.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 183), gr. 1.; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 182, Pl. v, 13), gr. 0.90. PLATE XVI, 20.

The selection of the point at which the silver issues of Antiochus I break off, and those of his son begin, is admittedly arbitrary. By no definite outward sign do

the coins themselves indicate the point of division. The types and inscriptions, the fabric and, in general, the style remain exactly the same; the monograms alone change. Therefore, we can merely indicate the most likely place in the series at which the change in rulers occurred. Some, if not all, of the coins here catalogued under Series I may actually have been coined while Antiochus I was still alive. On the other hand, the coins of Group D, Series III assigned to the latter, may well have been struck under Antiochus II. The proposed arrangement, however, appears to the writer to divide the entire series between the two kings in what seems to be the most logical manner. The types of the bronze coins accompanying Group D, Series III of Antiochus I (helmeted Athena head and standing Apollo) are probably more suitable for the reign of the first Antiochus,[97] than for that of his son. On the other hand, the style and two of the types (Nos. 192–4, 199–200) of the bronze coins accompanying the silver (assigned here to Antiochus II) seem more appropriate to the issues of the latter.

On what appear, then, to be the first silver issues of Antiochus II at Seleucia, we meet with a new chief magistrate's monogram,  . Associated with this are the monograms of four assistants, one of which () had already appeared on the tetradrachm No. 177 of Group D, Series III, in the previous reign. The accompanying bronze coins are of two types, but all appear, when legible, to bear the same monogram () as the silver. Of the first type (Nos. 182–4, PLATE XVI, 3–6), we possess three denominations of good workmanship and attractive style. Here, we again find a three-quarters facing bust of Apollo, but this time turned slightly to the l. Dr. McDowell has already had occasion[98] to call attention to the remarkable popularity of the frontality technique as applied to the bronze issues of Seleucia on the Tigris under the Seleucid kings. This technique, however, does not appear first under Seleucus I, as Dr. McDowell was led to believe by following the too early datings proposed by his predecessors for the coins in question. Instead, it occurs first under Antiochus I (our Nos. 161, 163–5, 167–9, 172–3) but, again, not to the extent supposed by Dr. McDowell.[99] It is not until the reign of Antiochus II that frontality really becomes common on the Seleucian bronze coins, and was thereafter frequently copied on the rather imitative issues of Susa—as we shall see in Chapter III.

About half-way in the course of the silver coinages here assigned to Antiochus II, the chief magistrate was changed and  takes the place of honor on the left of the reverse die. His assistant, however, remains the same as on the final tetradrachm, No. 181, of Series I. It was stated above, that the style of these silver tetradrachms continued with little change from the issues considered the final ones of Antiochus I. Nevertheless (though possibly only in the present writer's imagination), there does seem gradually to creep into the rendering of the portrait on the coins of Series II

[97] A very similar Athena head occurs on coins which were certainly issued by Antiochus I, cf. Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Pl. iv, 2, 5, 6. The standing Apollo appears on other eastern bronze coins of this same reign, cf. PLATE XXXVIII, 16, and XXXIX, 1–4.

[98] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 47–8.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

and III a certain hardness and lack of life and artistic interest, which would suggest that henceforth the die-cutters confined themselves merely to copying the work of their predecessors. Obviously, since Antiochus I was now dead, the artists at Seleucia were unable to infuse new life into the old king's portrait which still continued to appear on the issues of his son.

The remaining Seleucian silver issues of Antiochus II (Series III) are signed by a new supervisor,  , associated with the monograms of four assistants. The first of these,  , has already functioned at the close of Series I and throughout Series II. Another,  , has likewise already appeared, on the tetradrachm No. 180 of Series I. The remaining two assistants are new. The second of these,  , continues, together with his chief, to sign the earliest of the silver coins in the succeeding reign—that of Seleucus II, son of Antiochus II. It is this important fact which first definitely proves that many of the coins bearing the portrait of Antiochus I cannot possibly have been struck in his own life-time, but must actually represent a posthumous issue coined during his son's reign. This would explain, then, that curious hardness of style and lack of originality and life to which we have called attention above, and which has been creeping into the rendering of the portraits ever since the appearance of Series II.

Series III is made notable by the presence of a splendid gold stater, the first that we have met with at Seleucia since the reign of Seleucus I. The evidence for a recoinage of gold at our mint may be illusory. It is possible that there had been a continuous coinage in this metal under Antiochus I and II, but that no specimens have chanced to survive. But, in the light of what our museums and private collections now possess,[100] the coinage of gold during these two reigns would seem to have been extremely scanty except at the Bactrian mint. Even of this mint, examples were very rare until the now famous Oxus Treasure[101] immeasurably enriched our trays with the eastern gold coins of the earlier Seleucid kings. Because of the unprecedented accretion which the past thirty years have brought to our numismatic material as a whole, the continued great rarity of westerly-minted gold coins of Antiochus I and II would seem fairly to reflect the true situation in antiquity. Therefore, the sudden recurrence of gold at Seleucia may be not without its significance. As this particular coin appears among the issues here assigned to the latter half of Antiochus II's reign, its *raison d'être* may be sought in the fact that after Bactria had successfully fallen away, Seleucia was called upon to replace the gold coinage formerly produced so prolifically in a mint now forever lost to the Seleucidae.

[100] For instance, from mints *to the west of Iran* there was no gold at all in the British Museum, for the two reigns in question, until, comparatively recently, an Alexandrine stater of Antiochus I was acquired. In Paris, there were only two gold of Antiochus I (Babelon, Nos. 102 and 103) and one of Antiochus II (Babelon, No. 193); in Glasgow, an Alexandrine stater of Antiochus I (No. 2); in Berlin, two possibly western staters of Antiochus I. Outside of Bactrian staters, there were none in the published catalogues of the Sir Herman Weber, McClean, Leake, Jameson, de Nanteuil, Turin, Hedervar, Schottenstift, etc. Nor does the writer recollect having seen any in the Vienna, Brussels, Dresden, Hague, Naples or Vatican collections.

[101] Noe, Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards, No. 778.

Accompanying the silver of Series III were also numerous issues in bronze. We have two groups (a and b, Nos. 192–8, PLATE XVI, 13–18) in this metal, each comprising the usual three denominations. Both issues, although of different types, are signed by the two magistrates ⋈ and ⅄. The first of these monograms appears on all of the accompanying silver and gold coins of Series III, and surely denotes the chief magistrate. Further, both monograms continue to appear on early bronze issues of the succeeding reign of Seleucus II (Nos. 202–3). This fact assures us that the present coins must have been coined towards the end of Antiochus II's life, and not under his father, as all previous scholars had assumed. The first of these groups (Nos. 192–4, PLATE XVI, 13–16) bears a laureate, profile head of Apollo to right on the obverse; while the reverse shows a fine representation of the standing Athena, very reminiscent of the same goddess as she appears on the beautiful gold stater of western mintage in Paris.[102] The second group of coins (Nos. 195–198, PLATE XVI, 17–18), distinguished by their fine and attractive style, reverses the order in which the two deities appear on its dies. Now it is Athena who holds the obverse with an interesting three-quarters facing and helmeted bust; while Apollo is depicted on the reverse. The god, in long robes and holding the lyre on his left knee, is seated to right upon the *omphalos*, while his tall tripod can be seen in the background. Sometimes his right hand, probably holding the *plectrum*, rests in his lap; sometimes he allows the arm to hang limply downwards. Apollo's head is turned towards the spectator, as if pausing to await the applause which is sure to follow his divine playing. Nos. 195–8 represent some of the most attractive copper coins ever minted by Seleucid kings.

The bronze coins collected under Group c (Nos. 199–200, PLATE XVI, 19–20), constitute a group whose exact position is far from certain. Their style has some affinities with that of the preceding coins; and as the types (head of Apollo, tripod above anchor) present a combination found on certain western issues (except for the Apollo head which, on the latter, is in profile) usually assigned by numismatists[103] to Antiochus II, it is likely that our Nos. 199–200 were also coined by that king. Unfortunately, the monograms on the known specimens are practically illegible or off flan. Probably Group c preceded Groups a and b. It could hardly have come after them, for the two monograms ⋈ and ⅄, which characterize Groups a and b are likewise found on the first issue (Nos. 202–203) of the succeeding reign. It is unlikely that other magistrates had functioned between.

HOARDS

We have now reached the end of the long series of tetradrachms bearing the types of Antiochus I struck at Seleucia on the Tigris. That they must once have been coined in great quantities is certain from the very large numbers of specimens that have come down to us. Although we chance to possess no hoards of these coins, buried during the years when they were actually being coined, later hoards do con-

[102] *Loc. cit.*, Pl. vi, 1.

[103] Gardner, *loc. cit.*, p. 15, Nos. 11–17, Pl. V, 8–9; Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 219–238, Pl. vi, 14–16.

tain them, and in no inconsiderable numbers. Thereby is attested not only their continued popularity, but also their wide-spread use. Two hoards from the mainland of Greece, Sophikon[104] and Sparta,[105] each contained a single specimen. Three specimens were in the Sardes "basis hoard"[106] and one in a hoard from Rhodes.[107] The moment that we reach Syria and Mesopotamia, our coins commence to appear in greater numbers, clear indication that we are approaching their original place of mintage. There were at least five, and probably more, in a hoard said to have been found near Homs in 1927;[108] eight in the Homs 1934 Hoard;[109] and at least eight (and possibly many more) in the Urfa Hoard, found about 1923.[110] In the Tell Halaf Hoard,[111] there were seven; in Gejou's Mesopotamian Hoard,[112] at least five; in Dunne's Mesopotamian Hoard,[113] thirteen and, finally, two (Nos. 166 and 189) in a portion of a hoard of late date (Alexander I, 152–144 B. C.) received from Baghdad in 1925. But as none of these hoards antedate Seleucus II, while most of them are as late as the reign of Antiochus III, they furnish little or no help to us in our attempt to date more closely the many varieties of the tetradrachms from Seleucia which bear the portrait of Antiochus I.

SELEUCUS II

246–226/5 B. C.

The death of Antiochus II in 246 B. C. brought great changes to the Seleucid empire by reason of the immediately ensuing Laodicean War and the whirlwind campaign of Ptolemy III. The latter even penetrated as far as Babylonia during the spring and summer of 245 B. C.,[114] and there received the submission of the Seleucid

[104] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 997. Hoard buried about 230–220 B. C.

[105] Noe, *ibid.*, No. 1004. Hoard buried about 245–240 B. C.

[106] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 925. Buried in the reign of Eumenes II, 197–159 B. C., the hoard contained examples of No. 157, 162 or 166, and 178.

[107] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 862.

[108] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 487. Rubbings of some of the coins from this hoard were sent to the writer by the late Roupen Ezadjian of Beyrouth. Among these were two examples of No. 162, and one each of Nos. 155, 159 and 178. The hoard contained at least one coin of Attalus I, and so must have been buried after 241 B. C.

[109] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 488. The hoard was purchased intact, together with the vase in which it was found. It contained one specimen each of Nos. 140, 155 and 178; two of No. 162 and four of No. 189. The hoard had been buried late in the reign of Antiochus III.

[110] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 1147. This hoard was scattered far and wide. Among the coins certainly from this deposit, the writer saw three examples of No. 162, and one each of Nos. 149, 155, 159, 188 and 190. The hoard was buried in the reign of Antiochus III.

[111] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 1086. Contained one specimen each of Nos. 149, 155, 157, 180, 189, and two of 190. The hoard was buried in reign of Antiochus III.

[112] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 680. Only the more desirable coins from this deposit appear to have reached M. Gejou. They did contain, however, two examples of No. 155 and one each of Nos. 140, 157 and 189. The latest coins in the hoard are of Seleucus II.

[113] Noe, *loc. cit.*, No. 681. A hoard first shown at the British Museum about 1924, later sold at Glendinings in August, 1933. For the details of this hoard, the writer owes his most grateful thanks to Mr. E. S. G. Robinson. The find contained five examples of No. 155, one each of Nos. 152, 157, 162 (?), 178, 188, 190 and two of No. 189. The latest datable coins in the hoard belonged to Eumenes II (197–159 B. C.) and Antiochus III (222–187 B. C.).

[114] Beloch IV, 1, p. 676.

satraps of the Upper Provinces. But Ptolemy soon departed again, called back by native uprisings in Egypt. Before leaving, however, he appointed Xanthippus as his viceroy over the conquered provinces stretching from the Syrian seaboard to inner Asia. Even though Babylonia was now for a short time a dependency of Egypt, no coins in the name of Ptolemy III from the mint at Seleucia are known to exist. Possibly, and even probably, none were ever struck there.

In the meanwhile, Seleucus II, the elder son and legitimate heir of Antiochus II, had assembled his forces in Asia Minor. He crossed the Taurus Mountains at the earliest possible moment[115] and struck back at Ptolemy. In a surprisingly brief space, he had recovered practically all that had been lost, except certain seaports which the powerful fleet of Ptolemy was able to retain. So striking was the success of the young king, that he was henceforth known as Callinicus (the victorious). Seleucia on the Tigris was again Seleucid, and her mint recommenced coining.

SERIES I, *c.* 244–240 (?) B. C.

201. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. The diadem-ends flutter out behind.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, completely nude, standing to l., holding an arrow in his outstretched r. and leaning his l. elbow upon a tall tripod behind him. In inner l. field, ⋈. In outer r. field, Ɛ.

α) London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 3), gr. 17.07; β) Leningrad (*Jour. int. num.* Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 141, No. 169), gr. 16.45; γ) Leningrad (*loc. cit.*, No. 171), gr. 16.80; δ) Newell, gr. 16.43. PLATE XVII, 1.

202. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed, horned, draped bust of Seleucus, with head three-quarters facing to l. Circle of dots. Bevelled edges.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below. Seleucus, head facing, mounted on a horned, prancing horse to r. With his upraised r., he is about to hurl a javelin at a foe prostrate beneath his horse's hoofs. In field r., ⋈. In field l., ⅄.

α) London (Gardner, p. 107, No. 58α, Pl. xxviii, 1), gr. 7.45; β) London (Gardner, p. 107, No. 58β), gr. 7.18; γ) Seleucia, pp. 6–7, No. 10, gr. 7.45; δ) Newell, gr. 7.76. PLATE XVII, 2; ε) Berlin.

203. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α–ε) Seleucia, pp. 6–7, No. 10, gr. 4.04, 3.99, 3.73, 3.28, 3.18; ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 63, Pl. ii, 17), gr. 4.30; ξ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 3.15.

Even though no Ptolemaic coins are known for Seleucia, the break in the coinage which probably ensued between the death of Antiochus II and the arrival of

[115] In the spring of 244, according to Beloch IV, 1, p. 677.

Seleucus II, had had its effect. No more tetradrachms in the name and with the portrait of Antiochus I were ever again coined at Seleucia. Those now issued (No. 201, PLATE XVI, 1), bear the well-known features of Seleucus II. On their reverses, the usual seated Apollo gives place to the type which is always more closely associated with the second Seleucus, namely Apollo standing beside his tripod. The coins bear the signatures of the same two magistrates who had functioned on the final issue of tetradrachms (No. 191) at the end of Antiochus II's rule, thus closely uniting the coinages of the two reigns.

Similarly, the accompanying bronze coins (Nos. 202–3) bear the same two monograms that had marked Antiochus II's final bronze coinage (Nos. 192–8) at Seleucia. The types, however, have been changed. As befitted so gloriously victorious a scion of the Seleucid House, now come into his heritage again, the horned portrait-bust of the founder of the line, Seleucus I, is depicted[116] upon the obverses, while on the reverses we see a mounted horseman to r., striking down at his enemy prostrate beneath the horse's hoofs. These appropriate types obviously commemorate the recent success over Ptolemy's forces, and form one of the handsomest series of copper coins produced at Seleucia.

SERIES II, *c.* 240–230 B. C.

GROUP A

204. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. The diadem-ends flutter out behind.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing beside his tripod as on No. 201. In l. field, ⋈. In outer r. field, ⋔.

Newell, gr. 16.66. PLATE XVII, 3.

205. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Laureate, draped bust of Apollo, three-quarters facing l. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below. Zebu advancing to r. On l., ⋔. On r., ⋈.

α) London, gr. 12.23. PLATE XVII, 4; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 51, Pl. ii, 5), gr. 10.50.

206. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate, draped bust of Apollo three-quarters facing l. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Head and neck of bull to r., the head depicted *en face*. Above, ⋔. Below, ⋈.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 52, Pl. ii, 6), gr. 6.; β) Seleucia, p. 5, No. 7, gr. 5.46; γ–δ) Newell, gr. 6.84, 6.19. PLATE XVII, 5; ε) Leningrad (*Jour. int. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 133, No. 42), gr. 5.9; ζ) London (Gardner, p. 107, No. 71α; ζ) Paris (from Susa).

[116] Or so the bust has been described by all recent numismatists. None of them, however, appreciated the fact that these coins had actually been struck, not by Nicator but by his great-grandson, Callinicus. That being the case, the portrait *may* have been intended to represent Seleucus II. The coin's small scale and the fact that we do not possess any *en face* portrait of Callinicus, prevent real certainty. By analogy, however, the presence of the horns would favor Seleucus I, who on many of his coins actually bears these oriental emblems of power and majesty. They never appear on portraits of the second Seleucus.

GROUP B

207. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below. Bull's head facing, adorned with fillets. On l., [illegible]. On r., [illegible].

α) Seleucia, p. 6, No. 8, Pl. ii, gr. 5.83; β) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 31, Pl. vi, 13), gr. 6.43. PLATE XVII, 6.

GROUP C

208. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the Nos. 205–6, but Apollo has a lyre above his l. shoulder. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Nike to l. places, with her outstretched r., a wreath on Seleucus standing facing in armor, and resting r. hand on spear. Above, [illegible]. Below, [illegible].

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 53, Pl. ii, 7), gr. 5.90; β) Newell, gr. 3.37 (piece broken out); γ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 5.76. PLATE XVII, 7; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 4.42; ε) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 5.27. PLATE XVII, 8; ζ) London, gr. 5.31.

209. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) London (Gardner, p. 6, No. 58, Pl. ii, 12), gr. 2.81. PLATE XVII, 9; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 2.19; γ) London, gr. 2.32. PLATE XVII, 10.

GROUP D

210. BRONZE HALF.

Head of Apollo, laureate and three-quarters facing l.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Tripod. Monograms obscure.

α) Paris (Susa. *Mission, etc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 20, No. 4), gr. 1.50; β–γ) Seleucia, p. 8, No. 14, gr. 1.55, 1.34. It is quite possible that these coins should be given, instead, to Seleucus IV. See below, p. 81.

The next issues of Seleucus II at our mint comprise but one tetradrachm (No. 204) and several groups of bronze coins of varied types. As this tetradrachm is known today in one specimen only, it may well be that future finds will bring us yet other examples to accompany the bronze coins as listed in our catalogue. In any case, the silver issues of this king at Seleucia, to judge by what have survived, were comparatively scanty. The same is true of the other eastern mints. Apparently, under Seleucus II, Antioch became the foremost mint of the empire for silver, and its issues are in consequence abundantly represented in our cabinets. The present tetradrachm continues to bear the monogram [illegible] of the official who had supervised the issues during the final years of Antiochus II. Associated with this now appears a new monogram, representing his assistant, [illegible].

Bearing these same two monograms comes an issue of bronze coins, in two denominations (PLATE XVII, 4–5), with the now usual three-quarters facing

head of Apollo, a design obviously very popular at Seleucia. The reverse of the larger coin displays a bull advancing to r.; the reverse of the smaller coin, the head and neck of a bull, types not previously found on Seleucid coins but harking back, doubtless, to the butting bull so frequently seen on the coins of Seleucus II's namesake, Seleucus Nicator.

The succeeding issue of bronze (Group B) continues to be signed by ⋈, together with a new assistant. Apollo's head is now in profile, and the reverse type is that of a filleted bull's head directly facing the observer (PLATE XVI, 6).

Later (Group C), there appeared the two denominations, Nos. 208–209, PLATE XVII, 7–10. As no examples of these particular pieces turned up in the excavations of Seleucia, and as their monograms are not precisely like any we have yet met on the issues of our mint, their proposed assignment to Seleucia cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. On the other hand, their style and the form of their flans are the usual ones for Seleucia while their second monogram appears again under Seleucus III. The three-quarters facing Apollo head is also peculiarly typical of preceding Seleucian issues, although on at least some of the specimens the unusual detail of a lyre can be discerned above the god's left shoulder. The reverse type, depicting Nike crowning the standing figure of Seleucus, may allude to successes of the latter portion (*circa* 235 B. C.?) of his reign in a campaign to recover the upper provinces from the invading Parthians.[117] The fact that here we have the rather unusual design of Victory crowning the king himself, may not be without pointed significance. For we know that the Parthians, under their king Tiridates, having defeated the Seleucid commanders in the east and slain Andragoras, governor of Parthyene, had secured not only that province but also the neighboring Hyrcania. But the arrival of Seleucus changed the situation completely. Tiridates and his armies were swept out of their conquests and sought refuge in the wild steppes about the Caspian Sea. The die-cutters of Seleucia appropriately enough depict Nike placing a crown of victory on the head of Seleucus in person. However, the victory type may have yet another explanation. While Callinicus was still absent in Parthia, his aunt Stratonice engineered a revolt at Antioch and actually managed to secure the city. In conjunction with her attempt, Seleucus' brother, Antiochus Hierax, now[118] invaded Mesopotamia and fought with varying success against the Seleucid comanders, Andromachus and Achaeus. But when Seleucus, himself, returned in haste from the east, Antiochus was unable to make headway against his brother and retreated into Cappadocia. Seleucus also recovered Antioch, and these successes might well have been commemorated on the contemporary bronze issues of Seleucia.

There were found at Seleucia two bronze coins (our No. 210) bearing the usual three-quarters facing head of Apollo on the obverse; and on the reverse, a tripod flanked by the name of Seleucus. The similarity of their types to Nos. 199–200 of Antiochus II suggests that these coins belong to the reign of the second Seleucus.

[117] Beloch IV, 1, p. 683. Bevan, Vol. I, pp. 288–9.
[118] Beloch IV, 1, pp. 684–6.

But as the monograms chance to be obscure on these the only known specimens, their exact location in the series must remain uncertain until better examples become available.[119] It is also possible that the coins should be assigned to the reign of Seleucus IV, as is certainly the case with a somewhat similar coin in the author's collection.

SERIES III, *c.* 230–226 B. C.

GROUP A

211. BRONZE TRIPLE (?).

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r., with fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r. and rests l. upon bow. In outer l. field, ⋈. In outer r. field, ⋈. Circle of dots.

London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 12), gr. 10.41.

212. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 13, Pl. vi, 3), gr. 4.54. PLATE XVII, 11.

GROUP B

213. BRONZE TRIPLE (?).

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ⊗. In outer r. field, ⋈.

α) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 25, No. 9, Pl. lxiv, 22), gr. 11.70; *β*) London (Edgar Rogers Coll.), gr. 9.36. PLATE XVII, 12; *γ–μ*) Seleucia, pp. 14–15, No. 31, gr. 10.60; 9.46; 9.41; 8.94; 8.89; 8.84; 8.49; 8.34; 8.13; 7.22; 7.18 (one of these illustrated, *ibid.*, Pl. ii); *ν*) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 7.50.

214. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α–ζ) Seleucia, pp. 14–15, No. 31, gr. 4.90; 4.45; 4.79; 4.42; 4.26; 4.14; 3.56; *η*) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 4.35; *θ*) Newell, gr. 4.92. PLATE XVII, 13; *ι*) London. PLATE XVII, 14.

Before the end of Seleucus II's reign, the types of the bronze coins were again changed at Seleucia. Henceforth (PLATE XVII, 11–14), we find a diademed portrait of the king in profile to the right, an innovation for the bronze issues of this mint. On the reverse is the usual, undraped Apollo standing to left, holding an arrow in his right hand and resting his left upon his bow. No less than eighteen

[119] The single bronze coin, bearing a fine head of Seleucus II on the obverse and a victory on the reverse, found at Seleucia (*loc. cit.* p. 14, No. 30, Pl. ii) was probably not coined there. For instance, the diadem-ends are depicted as hanging straight, and not fluttering out behind as is their invariable position on the coins of Seleucia, from the last issues of Antiochus I through those of Antiochus III. The monograms, too, are not known at Seleucia, although one of them is of constant occurrence on coins of the Antioch mint.

specimens of Nos. 213 and 214 were found at Seleucia, definitely assuring us of the mint which once issued these pieces. As most of these pieces are in a very damaged or corroded condition, it is quite possible that among them may exist examples of Nos. 211 and 212, varying only in minute differences of their monograms, not easily distinguishable on corroded specimens.

SELEUCUS III

226/5–223/2 B. C.

Seleucus II died suddenly about 226–225 B. C., and was succeeded by his eldest son Alexander, who at once assumed the name of Seleucus. He undertook a war in Asia Minor against Attalus of Pergamum, but with poor success. To finance his campaigns, prolific issues of silver tetradrachms were brought out at Antioch and Seleucia. The issues of the latter mint are as follows:

215. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus III to r., with fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* holding an arrow in his outstretched r. In outer l. field, ⋔. In outer r. field, ⋈.

α) O'Hagan Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1908, No. 651, Pl. xi (= Montague Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1897, No. 334), gr. 17.04; β) Helbing Sale, Nov. 1928, No. 4062, Pl. 73, gr. 17.; γ) Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 524, Pl. 17 (? = Cahn Sale 65, Oct. 1929, No. 254, Pl. 8, gr. 16.03, sic!), gr. 17.10; δ) Berlin, gr. 15.96. PLATE XVII, 15; δ) Glendining Sale, March 1931, No. 1146.

216. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Monogram on l. is ⋔; on r., ⋈.

α) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9261, Pl. 336, 11), gr. 16.54; β) Newell, gr. 16.32; γ) Newell, gr. 15.98. PLATE XVII, 16.

217. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same two monograms. In the exergue, ⋎.

α) London (Dunne's Mesopotamian Hoard), gr. 16.89. PLATE XVII, 17; β) Specimen in the possession of a Baghdad dealer.

218. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the l. Apollo, in long robes, standing three-quarters facing r. He holds lyre in l. and *plectrum* in lowered r. hand. In outer l. field, ⋔. In outer r. field, ⋈.

White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 520, Pl. vii. PLATE XVII, 18.

219. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 4.06. PLATE XVII, 19.

The first issue of tetradrachms (No. 215) bears in the r. field the monogram ⋈, in the exact form it had in Series III of Antiochus II, as well as on all the silver and most of the bronze of Seleucus II. If this were not enough to assure us that we are still dealing with the issues of a single mint, their style is also directly carried over. In particular should be noted the fluttering diadem-ends, which have become almost exclusively characteristic of the coinages of Seleucia on the Tigris. On the succeeding issues (Nos. 216 and 217, as well as on the accompanying bronze coins, PLATE XVII, 16–19), the forms of the monograms have been slightly changed. In the left hand monogram the upper, curved cross-piece has been omitted; in the right hand monogram the *rho* element is, henceforth, missing. But the general forms remain so closely identical that we cannot doubt that these monograms must represent the same individuals who had previously been active.

The king's youthful portrait graces the obverses of the bronze coinage, while on the reverses there appears a representation of Apollo Citharoedus. The god stands facing, draped in a long robe, holding a lyre in his left arm and a *plectrum* in his lowered right hand. These bronze coins of Seleucus III are apparently rather rare, and no specimens have as yet been recorded as found at Seleucia. The identical type, however, was reproduced on the first bronze issues of Antiochus III (Nos. 223–224, PLATE XVIII, 4–5) and of these, two examples occurred in the Seleucia finds.

ANTIOCHUS III

FIRST REIGN IN SELEUCIA

223/2–221 B. C.

In the course of his campaign in Asia Minor, Seleucus III was assassinated. His younger brother, Antiochus, now a youth of about twenty years of age, was at that time residing in Seleucia[120] as viceroy over the eastern portion of the empire. When the news of the assassination reached Antioch, Antiochus III was immediately proclaimed king in his brother's place. Shortly afterwards he left Seleucia,[121] to take up the reins of government in the Syrian capital.

As shown by style and monograms, the mint at Seleucia continued to operate without a break after Seleucus III's death and to coin money in the new king's name.

SERIES I, *c.* 223/2–221 B. C.

220. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., with fluttering diadem-ends.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer l. field, ⋈. In outer r. field, ⋈. Circle of dots.

α) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), gr. 15.45; β) Newell, gr. 15.22. PLATE XVIII, 1.

[120] Eusebius, I, 253. St. Jerome, *in Dan.* 11, 10.

[121] St. Jerome, *loc. cit.*, tells us that the Macedonians in Syria called for his presence there.

221. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, [illegible] (= [illegible] ?). In outer r. field, [illegible].

London. PLATE XVIII, 2.

222. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible]. In the exergue, [illegible].

α) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 31, No. 4), gr. 16.93; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.87. PLATE XVIII, 3.

223. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Similar head to r. Bevelled edges.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, in long robes, stands three-quarters facing to r. He holds a lyre in l. and *plectrum* in lowered r. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible].

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 7.13. PLATE XVIII, 4; β–γ) Seleucia, pp. 15–16, No. 33, Pl. ii (the monogram on l. is here given as [illegible], perhaps it should be [illegible]), gr. 5.43; 5.25 (the coins are broken and corroded, hence their light weight); δ) Newell (brought back from Babylonia by Prof. Haynes), gr. 7.76. PLATE XVIII, 5; ε) London, gr. 6.51; ζ) Paris (from the excavations at Susa).

224. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible].

Berlin (Morel Coll.).

Both silver and bronze coins of the first issue of Antiochus III at Seleucia are thus seen to constitute a direct continuation, as to types, style and monograms, of the last issue of his brother. Only the features and name have been altered, to conform to those of the empire's new master. The old mint official, [illegible] (sometimes written [illegible]), is still in charge. His former assistant, [illegible], also appears on the earliest tetradrachm, No. 220, but soon gives place to [illegible]. On No. 222, a third official's monogram is added in the exergue, as had also been the case under Seleucus III in the coining of No. 217. Similar monograms appear on the accompanying bronze coins, where in one case, No. 223, the chief's monogram [illegible] is placed in a circle—as is also the same monogram on Nos. 213–214 under Seleucus II. These bronze coins of Antiochus III, Dr. McDowell has rightly discerned,[122] must precede the revolt of Molon who continued their reverse type (slightly modified) on his own copper issues. This being granted, it follows that the accompanying silver must also come at the very outset of Antiochus III's reign, as already surmised from their style and monograms.

It could not have been long after Antiochus had left the east and taken up his

[122] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 34–5.

residence at Antioch, that rebellion broke out in Iran. Molon, satrap of Media, raised the standard of revolt and induced his brother Alexander, satrap of Persis, and Artabazanes, prince of Atropatene, to join his banner. A royal army under Xenon and Theodotus sent against the rebels was driven back, and Molon secured the left bank of the Tigris. He even took up his winter quarters 222–221 B.C., at Ctesiphon just across the river from Seleucia, where he proclaimed himself king. In the spring of 221 B.C., a new royal army under Xenoetas was sent to Babylonia. There was some fighting along the Tigris, and Xenoetas eventually forced the passage of the river. Molon withdrew toward Media, but returning during the night, fell upon the unsuspecting force at dawn and utterly routed it. The successful usurper then crossed the Tigris and made a triumphant entry into Seleucia. All Babylonia submitted.

Antiochus and his advisers were now thoroughly alarmed. Hastily breaking off a campaign against the Ptolemaic possessions in Coele-Syria, the young king and his army proceeded eastwards. But the season was late and the worst part of the winter of 221–220 B. C. had perforce to be spent at Nisibis in northern Mesopotamia.[123] As early as possible in the spring of 220 B. C., the royal army broke camp, marched eastward across the Tigris and then advanced southward along the east bank of the river, seriously threatening Molon's communications with Media. The usurper hastily evacuated Seleucia and attempted to reach his own province. But Antiochus had, in the meanwhile, succeeded in seizing the highroad from Babylonia to Ecbatana, and Molon was thus forced to fight his battle on ground chosen by his foe. Half his army deserted him at the first onslaught, and he committed suicide. The same escape was adopted by his brothers, Alexander and Neolaus; and all the upper provinces hastened to return to their Seleucid allegiance. Molon's rule over Seleucia had thus lasted some seven or eight months at most—ample time to issue there the following coins.

MOLON

IN SELEUCIA 221–220 B. C.

225. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΜΟΛΩΝΟΣ on l. Apollo Citharoedus, in long robes, holding lyre in l. and *plectrum* in lowered r., advancing to r. In outer l. field, ⊢Γ. In outer r. field, ⊗.

Dr. T. O. Mabbott. PLATE XVIII, 6.

226. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ⋈. In outer r. field, ⊗.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 7.50. PLATE XVIII, 7.

[123] Beloch IV, 1, pp. 689–90. Bevan, I, p. 307.

227. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, ΜΜ. No monogram visible on l.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 7.13. PLATE XVIII, 8; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 457, Pl. xi, 8), gr. 10.45. PLATE XVIII, 9.

228. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ΜΜ (?).

α) London (Gardner, p. 30, No. 1, Pl. x, 1. Suspected of being a cast), gr. 7.60; β) Berlin, gr. 8.53. PLATE XVIII, 10; γ) Athens.

No silver coins of Molon are as yet known, although it is highly probable that such must have been struck. The Seleucid authorities would be at pains to withdraw them from circulation, as soon as they had triumphed over the usurper. Their aim seems to have been realized, but some stray specimen is bound to turn up, sooner or later. The more humble and less valuable bronze coins managed to escape the proscription to a certain extent; though even in their case comparatively few have actually survived.[124] None was found at Seleucia.

While Molon temporarily held the mint at Seleucia, immediately after his victory over Xenoetas, he brought out there the series of bronze coins already described. These are signed by men who had been active in the mint under the rightful kings: namely, ⊗, who had thus signed bronze coins of Seleucus II (Nos. 213–214) and of Antiochus III (No. 223); ΗΡ, who may be the same as the Ⓐ or Ⓐ of the preceding No. 222 and of the following Nos. 230 and 231, while ΜΜ had signed (as ΜΡ, ΜΡ, ΜΜ, ΜΜ) many coins both before and after the usurpation of Molon. The Apollo Citharoedus type of Nos. 225–228 is but slightly modified from the similar type found on the immediately preceding bronze issues of Seleucus III and Antiochus III.

ANTIOCHUS III

SECOND REIGN IN SELEUCIA 220–187/6 B. C.

SERIES II, *c.* 220–215 B. C.

229. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., with fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots. | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo seated on *omphalos* to l. In outer r. field, ΜΕ; in outer l. field, ΜΜ. Circle of dots.

Munich, gr. 16.85. PLATE XVIII, 11.

[124] A very similar state of affairs exists with regard to the almost contemporaneous issues in Asia Minor of the usurper, Achaeus. His bronze coins are scarce, but not by any means rare. Of his gold staters and silver tetradrachms, but one example of each denomination exists today, in the collections at Munich and of M. Jameson, respectively.

230. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., with fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. In outer l. field, ΞΜ. In outer r. field, ΜΗ. In the exergue, ΦΠ.

Newell, gr. 17.03. PLATE XVIII, 12.

231. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ΞΜ. In outer r. field, ⊛. In the exergue, ΦΠ.

α) Turin (Museo Archeologico, Fabretti Catalogue, p. 330, No. 4598, gr. 16.88; β) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2443, Pl. lxi, gr. 15.42; γ) Newell (Mesopotamian 1925 Hoard), gr. 15.98; δ) Newell (Mesopotamian 1925 Hoard), gr. 16.29. PLATE XVIII, 13; ε–ζ) Two specimens (probably from the same hoard as γ and δ) in possession of a Baghdad dealer, gr. 16.34 and 16.10.

232. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the monogram in the exergue is ΣΙ, and the monogram in outer r. field is ΜΗ.

London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 8), gr. 16.85. PLATE XVIII, 14.

233.[125] TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the monogram in the exergue is ΦΠ.

α) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 368), gr. 17.03; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 351), gr. 17.05; γ) London (Gardner, p. 21, No. 12), gr. 17.11; δ) Newell (Urfa Hoard), gr. 16.80. PLATE XIX, 1.

234. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ΞΜ above ΨΥ. In outer r. field, ΜΗ. In the exergue, ΦΠ.

α) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 31, No. 5, Pl. lxv, 8), gr. 17.06; β) London. PLATE XIX, 2.

235. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ΑΡ. In outer r. field, ΜΕ. In the exergue, ΑΡ.

Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9264, Pl. 336, 12), gr. 16.9. PLATE XIX, 3.

[125] The gold octodrachms in the Fenerly Bey Coll. (Egger Sale XLI, No. 655) and the Berlin collection appear to the writer highly dubious. They are probably comparatively modern casts. The same remark may also be true of the piece in the Hague cabinet described by Six, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVII, 1897, p. 211, No. 1, and also by Imhoof-Blumer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. III, 1876, p. 345. Six, *ibid.* p. 212, clearly recognizes that, if genuine, the coin must have been struck long before the years 209–205 B. C., to which Babelon, *loc. cit.* Introd. p. lxxxi, would assign them because he associates the issue of these gold octodrachms with the spoliation of the temple of Anaïtis at Ecbatana in 209 B. C. The present writer has not studied this specimen in The Hague and, therefore, hesitates to condemn it. With regard to the Berlin specimen, his notes distinctly query the authenticity of the coin. Such an extraordinary issue of large gold pieces, so early in the reign, at Seleucia is perhaps conceivable (in celebration of the recent victory over Molon ?) but, seems hardly likely.

236. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ΜΕ. In outer r. field, ♉. In the exergue, 𐡀 (= 𐡀𐡓 ?).

Paris (Babelon, No. 350. The reference to the plate is erroneous), gr. 16.75.

237. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ANTIOXOY on l. Nike standing to l., holding a long palm branch in her r. hand. In outer l. field, ΞΜ. In outer r. field, ΜΗ.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 6.85; β) London (Gardner, p. 21, No. 17, Pl. vii, 5), gr. 7.60. PLATE XVIII, 15.

238. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 3.18. PLATE XVIII, 16; β–ε) Seleucia, p. 15, No. 32, gr. 3.67; 2.78 (broken); 2.09; 1.35.

239. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Coiled serpent to r. In outer l. field, ΜΗ (?). In the exergue, Σ.

Newell (from Baghdad), gr. 7.32. PLATE LVI, 19.

239A. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., hair done in a knot. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Nike to l., holds palm branch in l. and with her outstretched r. places a wreath over the king's name. In outer r. field, ΜΗ. In outer l. field, obscure monogram.

α–β) Seleucia, p. 16, No. 34, Pl. ii, gr. 8.21; 7.84.

After the recovery of Babylonia and the upper provinces, Antiochus was called back to the west by the revolt of his cousin, Achaeus, in Asia Minor. He became at once deeply involved in a disastrous war with Egypt, followed by a more successful campaign to suppress Achaeus. Babylonia, therefore, did not see Antiochus again for several years.

His coinages at Seleucia continued where they had left off when the city was seized by Molon. Likewise, the same die-cutters continued to produce the dies, with the result that it would be well-nigh impossible to distinguish the tetradrachms struck before the interlude of Molon from those struck after, were it not for their accompanying bronze coins. Obviously, the first bronze issue after the recovery of Seleucia is represented by Nos. 237 and 238 (PLATE XVIII, 15–16) which bears the appropriate reverse type of a standing victory. The monograms on these

particular coins are identical with the two principal monograms in the field of the tetradrachms Nos. 229 to 234, thus dating those coins exactly.[126] The old chief magistrate, ⋈ (or ⋈), has now definitely and finally disappeared, after having been in office for some thirty-six years, or ever since about the middle of Antiochus II's reign. His last appearance was on the coinage of Molon. Possibly he was then retired because of age; possibly he had become implicated in the revolt and, in consequence, was among the leading citizens of Seleucia who, Polybius tells us, paid the supreme penalty or were banished for their disloyalty. His place is now taken by ⋿.

The Nike is temporarily replaced on the succeeding No. 239 (PLATE LVI, 19) by Apollo's coiled serpent—a very rare type in Seleucid numismatics. But soon the Nike again reappears on the coinage (No. 239A), while an Apollo head takes the place of the King's portrait on the obverse. Although two specimens of this coin were found at Seleucia, its assignment to that mint is still questionable. A coin with similar types, but of obviously Antiochene style and fabric, was published by Dr. Rogers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., Vol. I, 1921, Pl. II, 3. If the obscure monogram in the outer left field of the Seleucian coins is really ⋇ (as it appears to be, to judge by the reproduction), then they too must be assigned to Antioch where that particular monogram is of common occurrence at this period.

Dr. McDowell, however, describes[127] their edges as 'slightly bevelled,' which form is characteristic at this time for the issues of Seleucia, but not for those of Antioch.

SERIES III, *c.* 215–210/9 B. C.

240. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III, wearing side whiskers, to r. The diadem-ends flutter out behind. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* as on previous issues. In outer l. field, ⌽ or ⌽. In outer r. field, ⋔. In the exergue, ⋔⌽. Circle of dots.

α) Newell, gr. 16.98; β) Newell, gr. 17.03. PLATE XIX, 5; γ) Newell, gr. 17.02. PLATE XIX, 6.

241. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the monogram in the exergue has the form, ⋔⌽.

α) Bunbury Coll. (*Num. Chron.* 3rd. Series, Vol. III, 1883, Pl. v. 2. The coin has been double-struck); β) Seaby Sale 2, July 1929, No. 468, Pl. xvi.

242. STATER.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. The diadem-ends hang straight. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ⌽. In outer r. field, ⋔.

[126] Six, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVII, 1897, pp. 211–213, has long ago recognized that these particular silver and bronze coins must belong together. He, furthermore, correctly dates them: *pas peut-être de beaucoup postérieur à 220.*

[127] *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 16, No. 34.

α) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 948, Pl. 34 = Cons. Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4050, Pl. lii), gr. 8.49; β) London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 3, Pl. viii, 3), gr. 8.50. PLATE XIX, 4.

243. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but the diadem-ends flutter out behind as on previous issues. The features of the king tend to grow more mature during this issue.

Similar to No. 242, and with the same two monograms.

α) Newell (Urfa Hoard), gr. 16.61. PLATE XIX, 7; β) Newell, gr. 15.72; γ) Newell, gr. 16.91. PLATE XIX, 8; δ) Dr. E. P. Robinson Coll., gr. 16.92.

244. BRONZE UNIT.

Bust of Artemis to r., the hair done in a knot and bound with a diadem or fillet. Behind the shoulder, protrude the bow and quiver. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription. Apollo nude, standing r., holds in both hands a lyre. In outer l. field,  . In outer r. field,  .

α–ι) Seleucia, p. 16, No. 35, gr. 3.12; 2.53; 2.27; 2.06; 1.99; 1.76; 1.69; 1.67; 1.64; 1.41; κ–σ) Paris (Susa. *Mission*, etc., Vol. XXV, p. 4, No. 6 and p. 21, Nos. 6–7), gr. 2.60; 2.15; 1.60. PLATE XIX, 9–10.

245. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of Apollo three-quarters facing to r. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription. Athena Promachos to r., brandishing spear in her upraised r. and holding shield in her outstretched l. In inner l. field,  .

α–β) Paris (from Susa). PLATE XIX, 11. Possibly similar to these is the coin from Seleucia, p. 9, No. 17, gr. 2.34, although there the head is described as facing three-quarters l.

246. BRONZE DOUBLE (?).

Head of Artemis (or Demeter?) three-quarters facing to r. A lighted torch is placed against her l. shoulder. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription. Apollo, nude, seated to r. on *omphalos*, holding lyre in l.; his r. hand is lowered. Behind him, tripod. Monograms obscure.

α) Newell (from Baghdad), gr. 2.07. PLATE XIX, 13; β–γ) Paris (from Susa). PLATE XIX, 12. Probably of this type are the coins described in *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 12, No. 23, where the facing head is described as Athena, not Artemis. See above, p. 72, No. 198.

247. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of Apollo, three-quarters facing to r., as on the preceding. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Tyche in long robes and wearing *kalathos* standing to l., holds cornucopiae in her l., and *patera* in her outstretched r. In outer l. field, uncertain monogram ( ?). Circle of dots.

α–λ) Seleucia, p. 20, No. 46, Pl. iii, gr. 3.15; 2.85; 2.52 (three); 2.51; 2.46; .27; 2.18; 2.06; 2.01; 1.87; μ) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 17, No. 42, Pl. lxiv, 6), gr. 2.49, PLATE XIX, 14; ν–ξ) Paris (two specimens found at Susa).

248. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge. Same inscription. A quiver. Monograms obscure.

α–β) Seleucia, p. 13, No. 26, gr. 3.02; 2.54.

Series III at first continues on its tetradrachms (Nos. 240-241, PLATE XIX, 5–6), a youthful portrait and the local style which we have now grown accustomed to find at Seleucia. The series, however, is under the supervision of new magistrates. Gradually the king's portrait grows older and his profile more rugged (PLATE XIX, 7, 8), while traces of incipient baldness appear above the forehead, and the bony structure of the face and head becomes more evident. The series is further made notable by the recurrence of the gold stater (No. 242, PLATE XIX, 4). This denomination in Seleucid numismatics always connotes something unusual, and may be associated with the preparations at Seleucia for Antiochus III's great expedition into the east.

It may be noted that the diadem-ends on the stater are depicted as hanging stiffly. Not since the issues of Series III, Group B, under Antiochus I, has this been the case at Seleucia. Because of this, and because the existence of the accompanying tetradrachm, No. 243, was as yet unknown to him, the writer formerly assigned the stater in question to the mint at Antioch.[128] This attribution was revealed as an error, the moment specimens of No. 243 put in an appearance. They bear the identical monograms found on the stater; their style and fabric are entirely characteristic of Seleucia on the Tigris, and the diadem-ends are in the fluttering position which we have come to associate with this mint since the final issues of Antiochus I. With the appearance of the stater, a temporary change in the arrangement of the diadem-ends seems to have taken place at our mint. It will be seen that they also hang more or less stiffly downwards on the immediately succeeding tetradrachm issues of Series IV (PLATE XIX, 15) and Series V (PLATE XX, 1), only to revert once more to the fluttering type in Series VI (PLATE XX, 4–8). This observation would suggest that the stater No. 242 was actually coined towards the close of Series III, and may therefore be associated (as suggested above) with Antiochus' eastern expedition. For we know that it was in 210 B. C. that Antiochus and his army descended the Euphrates[129] to begin his reconquest of the east.

Accompanying this series of staters and tetradrachms, are several variant types of bronze coins. The Artemis bust on No. 244 (PLATE XIX, 9–10), is an innovation for the Seleucian series, although it had previously appeared on some common coins of Seleucus III struck at Antioch.[130] The accompanying reverse type of Apollo with his lyre is a slight modification of a similar design adopted at Seleucia by Seleucus III (PLATE XVII, 18–19) and copied by Antiochus III (PLATE XVIII, 4–5) and Molon (PLATE XVIII, 6–10). That these pieces were

[128] *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch, American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. LI, 1917, p. 8, No. 19.
[129] Bevan, Vol. II, p. 17.
[130] Babelon, Nos. 314–24, pl. viii, 16.

coined at Seleucia is shown by the fact that no less than ten specimens turned up in the excavations of the city, while the presence on them of monograms characteristic of the gold and silver coins Nos. 240–243 establishes their general date. As noted in the catalogue, nine further specimens were found at Susa, but these formed part of a large hoard[130a] and so need not necessarily have been coined in that city. In point of fact, none of this type appears among the coins found singly over the Susian mounds.

Having brought out this issue, our mint then turned to still earlier days for further inspiration. It now proceeded to re-introduce those partially-facing heads which had formed so marked a characteristic of the Seleucian bronze coinages in the middle years of the third century B. C. For the obverse of No. 245 (PLATE XIX, 11), we find a three-quarters facing head of Apollo inclined slightly to the right, as on certain issues of Antiochus I (PLATE XIV, 13; XV, 3–7 and 10–11). The accompanying reverse type is the Athena Promachus of a yet earlier issue of the same king (PLATE XIII, 13–14; XIV, 3). The apparently larger denomination represented by No. 246 (PLATE XIX, 12–13) presents a similar head of Artemis (or is it Demeter?) on the obverse, while its reverse type is a copy of the seated Apollo with lyre and tripod first occurring on bronze coins of Antiochus II (PLATE XVI, 17–18). Unfortunately, the monograms on the known specimens are illegible, but by style and fabric the coins belong to the present period, rather than earlier.

Of character and style exactly similar to the preceding is the facing Apollo head on No. 247 (PLATE XIX, 14), and this suggests its placement in the present series. For its reverse type, we find a Tyche standing to left, holding patera and cornucopiae, very much as each of the two goddesses who face one another across a tripod on some rather common autonomous coins of Seleucia on the Tigris.[131] This suggestive similarity and the fact that so many examples of our piece were found at Seleucia, definitely establishes their original mint. The monogram ΑΡ, as read by Dr. McDowell, is not found on the known tetradrachms of Antiochus III for Seleucia, but it does occur on some tetradrachms of this mint coined under Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV.[132] Stylistic affinities, however, would seem to make an assignment of No. 247 to Antiochus III preferable.

It also remains doubtful as to just where No. 248 should be placed, because its monograms are illegible. For want of a better location it has been tentatively catalogued at this point, but with little real conviction on the author's part. Only further examples, well enough preserved to render their monograms legible and to reveal their style more clearly, can decide.

[130a] Cf. Noe, No. 1024.

[131] Brit. Museum Cat., *Arabia, etc.*, p. cxv, No. 1, Pl. lii, 1; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 451, No. 60; McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 100, No. 132, Pl. vi.

[132] Dr. Philip Lederer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. XXXV, 1925, Pl. ix, Nos. 9–10. For those of Antiochus IV, see Naville Sale X, Pl. 37, Nos. 1026–7.

SERIES IV, *c.* 209–205 B. C.

249. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. The broad diadem-ends hang nearly straight. Fillet border.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡓 above a ROSE.

Berlin, gr. 16.84. PLATE XIX, 15.

250. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo three-quarters facing to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription, similarly placed. Tall tripod with *holmos*. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡓.

α–ν) Seleucia, p. 11, No. 21, gr. 4.17; 3.26; 3.17. PLATE XIX, 16; 3.00; 2.95; 2.51; 2.46; 2.44; 2.39; 2.21; 1.91; 1.87; 1.85; 1.73. Some of these specimens *may* really belong to No. 199; ξ) Paris (Babelon, No. 181, Pl. v, 12), gr. 2.65; ο) Berlin, gr. 2.31; π) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 2.65. PLATE XIX, 17; ρ) Newell, gr. 2.34; σ) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, gr. 2.41.

251. BRONZE UNIT (or DOUBLE ?).

Bearded head of Zeus three-quarters facing to r., with long sceptre against r. shoulder. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription, similarly placed. Apollo nude, standing to r., holding arrow, bow, or *phiale* over a tripod. In l. field, 𐡀𐡓.

α–δ) Seleucia, p. 13, No. 27, Pl. ii, gr. 4.84; 3.10; 3.01; 2.90. PLATE XIX, 18, 19.

In general character, the king's head on the tetradrachm (PLATE XIX, 15) of this series has close stylistic affinities with the head on the stater No. 242 (PLATE XIX, 4) which, in turn, is associated by its monograms with the preceding Series III. On the other hand, for the first time at Seleucia, the obverse type is surrounded by a fillet, instead of the customary circle of dots. In this detail it resembles the more or less contemporaneous silver issues of the capital, Antioch.[133] Another innovation lies in the fact that the coin bears a single monogram accompanied by a symbol. Unlike the majority of preceding tetradrachm issues, the reverse lacks the encircling band of dots. Thus, several minor features distinguish this series from its predecessor, but the general style[134] and fabric remain too similar for us even to consider any other city as a possible mint for these coins. The tetradrachm No. 249 could only have been coined at Seleucia on the Tigris—as is definitely proved by the accompanying bronze coins.

The latter comprise two types, but both bear the same magistrate's monogram as the tetradrachm. The facing Apollo head of No. 250 (PLATE XIX, 16–17) is practically identical with the similar heads which had appeared on the preceding bronze issues, Nos. 245 and 247 (PLATE XIX, 11 and 14), thus assuring us that Series IV is the immediate successor to Series III. The presence of Nos. 250 and 251 in considerable numbers in the Seleucia excavations establishes their mint beyond question. The types of No. 250 (i. e. facing Apollo head and tripod), we have met before in Nos. 199 and 200 (PLATE XVI, 19–20) under Antiochus II, but the evi-

[133] Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch, loc. cit.*, Pl. II, Nos. 20–24.

[134] Compare, for instance, the Apollo figure on PLATE XIX, 15 with that on PLATE XIX, 7.

dent variation in style, coupled with the more strongly bevelled edges and irregular flans of No. 250 prove their later date. Furthermore, a comparison of their respective reverse types reveals notable differences. The tripod of No. 250 is taller and narrower than the rather squat object depicted on Nos. 199–200, while its legs slope inwards in comparison to the more perpendicular legs of the earlier tripods. The *lebes* or bowl of our tripod is also provided with a cover while, on the other hand, the tripod of No. 199 is adorned with a fillet, and that of No. 200 is accompanied by an anchor.

The curious variety No. 251 was first published by Dr. McDowell.[135] He hesitatingly recognized in the obverse type a head of Zeus, but failed to note the long sceptre[136] which so definitely assures the identity of this head. Perhaps misled by his belief that the coins in question constitute an issue of Antiochus I, Dr. McDowell suggests a possible assimilation here of Seleucus I to Zeus. But both monogram and style place the coins not only in the reign of Antiochus III, but more definitely at the period when that king was engaged in his great expedition into the east. Appropriate to that occasion is the reverse type, unusual in Seleucid numismatics. Here we see what is obviously a statue of Apollo, facing to the r. and holding some object above his sacred tripod. If it be a *phiale*, then the god is in the act of pouring a libation to himself. In the recognized language of Greek symbolism this suggests either a formal propitiation of the god for the success of Antiochus on the eve of his departure for the east, or a thanksgiving for victories already achieved. In our present state of knowledge, we cannot be certain that No. 251 was struck early in Series IV (upon the departure of Antiochus), or later when the good tidings of his various "successes" over Parthians, Bactrians or Indians had reached Seleucia. Unfortunately, the extant specimens of the coin are so damaged by corrosion that we cannot be certain that it is actually the *phiale* which Apollo is holding. The reproductions suggest that it might also be the bow which is in his hand. In that case, the entire conception is remarkably like a statue of Apollo which appears on certain imperial coins of Alexandria Troas.[137] Here, indeed, the god is draped, but aside from that detail the general scheme, including the tripod placed before the god, is exactly as on our coins of Antiochus III. On these coins, the statue holds *both phiale* and bow. What connection, if any, there exists between the two representations is not yet clear, beyond the rather obvious one that both may be based on some well-known statue.

SERIES V, *c.* 205–203 B. C.

252. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., with straight diadem-ends.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Indian elephant walking to l. In the exergue, 𐡀𐡐.

Newell, gr. 16.70. PLATE XX, 1.

[135] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 13 and 32ff.

[136] Plainly visible on PLATE XIX, 19, as well as on another of the specimens found at Seleucia.

[137] British Museum Catalogue, *Troas*, etc., Pl. V, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 17, 18; Pl. VI, 1, 9, 10.

253. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., with hair done in a knot at the back, and long locks hanging down. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ below an Indian elephant walking to r. Behind, 𐡀𐡐.

α–θ) Seleucia, p. 17, No. 38, Pl. iii, gr. 4.94; 4.07; 4.04; 3.86; 3.65; 3.63; 3.26; 3.18; 3.08; ι–ξ) Paris (*Mission en Susiane*, Vol. XX, p. 25, Nos. 16–18 and others from the same site). PLATE XX, 2–3.

In the spring of 205 B. C.,[138] Antiochus returned in triumph from his widely-heralded successes in Parthia, Bactria, and what is modern Afghanistan. The Greek world resounded with his praises, and he was henceforth known as the "great." With him, he brought untold treasure and a large number of the coveted war-elephants, secured from the rulers of Bactria and India. No wonder that in many of his mints, especially the eastern ones, a series of commemorative coins were now struck, bearing for their reverse type a massive Indian elephant.

The date of Series V is thus more or less established by the reverse type of its silver and bronze, themselves further united by the presence on all specimens of the same magistrate's monogram, 𐡀𐡐. Their coinage may have begun when the news of the ratification of peace and the acquisition of many elephants first reached Seleucia. On the other hand, the coins may not have appeared until Antiochus had actually returned to Seleucia, and he, himself, had commanded these victory coins to be produced in celebration of the "conquest" of the east—just as his ancestor, Seleucus I, had done many years before. In any case, the indefiniteness of the actual date of coinage cannot extend more than a year or so either way. Numerous specimens of the bronze coins turned up at Seleucia; fewer have been found at Susa. Their mint can have been the former city only, as style and the sequence of the silver issues and their accompanying bronze coins proclaim.

SERIES VI, *c.* 203–187 B. C.

254. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., with fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, as before. In the exergue, 𐡀𐡐.

α) Berlin, gr. 17.1. PLATE XX, 4; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.04. PLATE XX, 5; γ) Newell (from Persia), gr. 16.99. PLATE XX, 6; δ) Yale University.

255. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡐.

α) Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1069, Pl. 37 (= Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 808, Pl. 14), gr. 16.97; β) From the same obverse die as α. Newell (H. de Morgan Coll., Serrure Sale, March 1914, No. 117), gr. 16.99. PLATE XX, 7; γ) Naville Sale XVII, Oct. 1934, No. 596, Pl. 18 (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 978, Pl. 35 = Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 578, Pl. xvii), gr. 17.12.

[138] Bouché-Leclercq, Vol. I, p. 165.

256. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡐. In outer r. field, 𐡌.

α) London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 4), gr. 16.85; β) Newell, gr. 16.81. PLATE XX, 8; γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 32, No. 19), gr. 16.98. These coins are all from the same obverse die.

257. BRONZE UNIT or DOUBLE (?).

Male head, wearing *petasus*, three-quarters facing to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Robed male figure, wearing *causia* standing to r. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡐. Circle of dots.

α–β) Seleucia, p. 18, No. 40, Pl. iii, gr. 3.89; 2.59. PLATE XX, 10 (reverse). PLATE XX, 9 (obverse).

258. BRONZE UNIT.

Male bust, three-quarters facing to r., wearing *petasus*. Bevelled edges.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY below elephant standing to r. In l. field, 𐡀𐡐.

α–ε) Seleucia, pp. 17–18, No. 39, Pl. iii, gr. 2.88; 2.88; 2.55; 2.18; 2.14; ϛ) Paris (from Susa); ζ) Berlin, gr. 2.01; η) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 2.025. PLATE XX, 12.

259. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., as on Nos. 254–6. Circle of dots.

Inscription and type as on Nos. 254–6. In outer l. field, 𐡀.

In commerce. PLATE XX, 11.

260. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡌. In outer r. field, 𐡌𐡐.

London. PLATE XX, 13.

Under the same official who had supervised the series commemorating the royal triumph, the coinage of Seleucia proceeds. The relief has suddenly become much more pronounced, the features of the king elderly and rugged. The diadem-ends now revert once more to the fluttering manner of previous years, but they are no longer of stringy thickness, but broad and flat as on the stater No. 242 and on the coins of Series IV.

The bronze coins, Nos. 257 and 258 (PLATE XX, 9, 10, 12), accompany this issue of tetradrachms, as is shown by their monograms. That the coinage is still that of Seleucia is proved by the discovery of several examples in the excavations of this city. The obverse type of the facing Hermes,[139] with his broad, flat *petasus* so characteristic of the god in Greek art, appears here for the first time on Seleucian coins. Just what the implication is, can perhaps be surmised. The reverse type

[139] Dr. McDowell (*loc. cit.* p. 37) recognizes a *causia* in the head-dress of the bust on these coins, and believes the portrait to be that of Antiochus, himself. He associates the type with the king's sojourn in Bactria and India. We now see that the actual dates of these coins are not inimical to such a theory, but the bronze coin No. 753 (PLATE LV, 18) tends to refute this. There, an exactly similar bust carries a *caduceus* above the r. shoulder, and so must be a Hermes.

of the standing elephant harks back, of course, to the recent commemorative issue and the king's successes in the east. Possibly the unaccustomed presence of Hermes on the issue of this city commemorates the restoration of commerce (a result which the inhabitants of Seleucia, especially, would be vitally interested in), brought about through the recovery of Seleucid power and prestige in the eastern provinces and the recent establishment of permanent peace with the Bactrian kingdom. Thus were removed the barriers which, since the revolts of Parthia and Bactria, had necessarily impeded the former steady flow of commerce between Seleucia on the one hand and Central Asia and India on the other. Furthermore, the expedition which Antiochus III led against the Arabian trading centres of Gerrha and Tylos (Bahrein), almost immediately after his return from India, may have been intended as much to weaken any strangle-hold their peoples may have secured on the trade routes through and along the Persian Gulf, as for mere conquest or the acquisition of booty. On returning once more to Babylonia, Antiochus, significantly enough, rebuilt and gave his own name to the Alexandria which, lying at the mouth of the Tigris, had been destroyed by the inundations of this and of the Eulaeus rivers. His reasons must have been largely economic, *i. e.* to insure the flow of trade along the Persian Gulf to and from Seleucia. He was amply justified, for the city grew rapidly in importance and later became the famous Spasinou Charax, capital of Characene and a very great centre of trade and commerce. All of this must have resulted at first to the advantage of Seleucia. No more appropriate type than that of Hermes, god of commerce, could have been chosen to celebrate the renewal of prosperous times which now appeared to be dawning for Seleucia on the Tigris. The reverse type of No. 257 may represent Antiochus himself, as the head-dress appears to be a *causia* rather than a *petasus*.

The final issues (Nos. 259–260, PLATE XX, 11, 13), continue the now accustomed style, but under new magistrates. Both style and the presence of one of these magistrates on the succeeding issues of Seleucus IV, PLATE XX, 14, show that No. 260 of Antiochus III is probably the last issue of his reign at Seleucia.

The coinage within the period comprised by Series VI appears scanty, in view of the seventeen years which it is supposed to cover. Either many more varieties remain to be discovered[140] or our mint had no occasion to coin more prolifically, as peace now reigned in the east and Antiochus' attention was completely absorbed in his conquest of Phoenicia and Palestine, his invasion of Asia Minor and Greece, and the ensuing disastrous war with Rome.

According to our plan, the study of the Seleucid issues at Seleucia on the Tigris here comes to a close. The coinage continued under Seleucus IV[141] and down to the reign of Demetrius II, when the Parthians finally overran Babylonia and put an end to Greek dominion in the Land of the Two Rivers.

[140] A supposition not supported by the finds at Seleucia.

[141] For the continuation under Seleucus IV, see Dr. P. Lederer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. XXXV, 1925, p. 224ff. Our Plate XX, 14, reproduces a typical example of the tetradrachms of Seleucus IV struck at Seleucia on the Tigris. A comparison with the immediately preceding tetradrachms of Antiochus III on the same plate clearly shows close affinities.

CLAY "TOKENS"

Our discussion of the early Seleucid coinages in Babylonia would not be complete without mention of a curious phenomenon definitely connected with these particular issues. We refer to the numerous terra cotta copies of coins which reach the west from Irak. Many were found in the excavations of Seleucia, and these have been described and published by Dr. McDowell,[142] on one of whose plates several have been illustrated. Nearly all of the types commonly current in Babylonia during the first century of Seleucid rule, are represented. Dr. McDowell lists many tetradrachms of the Alexander type,[143] both those with the name of Alexander as well as the later ones with the name of Seleucus I. The next succeeding type (Head of Zeus and elephant quadriga) does not chance to have been among the varieties found at Seleucia during the campaigns of 1927/28 and 1931/32, but is represented in the author's collection by a specimen (PLATE LVI, 15) which was purchased some thirty years ago from a well-known dealer in Babylonian antiquities. This clay object appears to have been cast from a tetradrachm such as we see on PLATE XI, Nos. 1–2.

Some of the best preserved specimens from the Seleucia excavations[144] are moulded from tetradrachms of Antiochus II (with types of Antiochus I), obviously of the Seleucia mint, one being from a coin such as seen on our PLATE XV, 16. The other specimens, listed and partially illustrated by Dr. McDowell, are too badly preserved, or too faintly impressed originally into the clay, to allow of more than a general assignment to kings such as Antiochus I or II, Seleucus II and Antiochus III. The clay impression illustrated by Dr. McDowell on his Plate VI, No. 114 is certainly not from a coin of Demetrius, as he suggests, but from a typical tetradrachm of Seleucus IV from the mint at Seleucia.[145] Thus, it seems safe to say that the majority of these clay objects, still well enough preserved to permit a judgment, were once fashioned from coins actually struck in the mint at Seleucia. The precise origin of Dr. McDowell's clay specimens reciprocally supports our assignment of the original coins to that particular mint.

Concerning the true purpose of these clay "coins," nothing can be added at present to Dr. McDowell's clear and logical discussion. In view of the long period of time covered by their numerous and varied types, it does seem unlikely that they constituted an issue of token money, or "necessity pieces," brought out in times of stress to replace a coinage of more valuable metal. They are more probably tokens (tickets, *tesserae*, counters ?) once in general use among the teeming population of the great metropolis.

[142] *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris*, University of Michigan Press, 1935, p. 241ff, Pl. VI.

[143] *Ibid.*, p. 243–4.

[144] *Ibid.*, Plate VI, 107–9.

[145] Cf. Lederer, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IX, Nos. 6–10.

CHAPTER II

BABYLON

When Seleucus erected his new capital at Seleucia on the Tigris, sixty miles to the north-east of Babylon, and removed thither his own residence, the machinery of government and a large number of people, the old capital was not abandoned immediately. In fact, that vast complex of palaces and temples, public buildings and the homes of hundreds of thousands of human beings could not have vanished suddenly. But the removal to another site of the mainsprings of its corporate existence (i. e. the government offices and a great bureaucracy of officials, the Greek inhabitants and, especially, the larger merchants and "big business" interests) soon began to sap the vitality of ancient Babylon. Once the brains and most of the heart of the colossus had been removed, the life-blood flowed from the stricken giant in an ever quickening stream. Even as late as the first few years of the succeeding reign, the colossus still breathed and showed at least a semblance of its former life. The now well-known tablet in the British Museum reveals[1] the native population still clinging to its beloved ancestral habitation, as well as a powerful priesthood that continued to function in and around the vast *peribolos* and *ziggurat* of Etemenanki and the *temenos* of *E·sagila*. Antiochus might order the transference of the remainder of the lay population to Seleucia, but he did not dare lay profane hands upon the sacred temple and the priesthood of the god. These, he wisely left to time.

Thus, we learn that Babylon continued throughout the reign of Seleucus to exist as a human agglomeration. It is to be supposed that it still required certain appurtenances of civilization such, for instance, as a circulating medium. Early in the first chapter, it was stated that Seleucus removed the mint from Babylon to Seleucia. It might have been more accurate to say that he erected in the latter place a *new* mint, to produce the necessary currency for circulation throughout his empire—money bearing the widely accepted types of Alexander. But Babylon still continued to require its own peculiar currency, the so-called "lion staters," adjusted to the Persian monetary system to which the native Babylonians apparently still clung with oriental obstinacy. From the days of the governorship of Mazaeus in Babylon, 331–328 B. C., these lion staters had been coined for the use of the population, alongside of the royal Alexandrine coinage issued for a more world-wide circulation.[2] From their very inception, until the founding of Seleucia, these lion staters present many points of contact (i. e. style and the initials, monograms or symbols of certain magistrates) with the contemporary Alexandrine issues. And then, suddenly, these points of contact practically cease, and the two series continue their several ways along divergent paths. The obvious corollary is that there are now two completely separate mints—the new one at Seleucia producing

[1] Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 150–9.

[2] Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, pp. 1–7.

only coins of the Alexander type,[3] the old establishment at Babylon proceeding for a time with its accustomed issue of lion staters only.

Comprehensive lists of these staters have been drawn up by Six,[4] Imhoof-Blumer[5] and Sir George Hill.[6] In order to complete our picture of the coinages of Seleucus I for the province of Babylonia, we give here the following catalogue, comprising only those staters which were coined at Babylon after Seleucus had officially assumed the kingly title.

THE SILVER LION STATERS OF BABYLON, *c.* 306–281 B. C.

GROUP A

261. LION STATER.

Ba'al seated l. on *diphros*, with two rungs; he is bearded, and nude to waist. His r. leg is drawn back; his r. hand rests on sceptre, l. on seat. Circle of dots.

Lion walking l., his tail is curled between his legs. Above, I. On the lion's haunch, ANCHOR. Circle of dots.

Newell (Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 650, Pl. 11), gr. 16.35. PLATE XXI, 1.

262. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with no letter above the lion. On haunch, ANCHOR.

Newell, gr. 15.09. PLATE XXI, 2.

GROUP B

263. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR.

α) London (Hill, p. 188, No. 43, Pl. xxii, 6), gr. 16.83; β) London (*loc. cit.* p. 188, No. 44), gr. 16.49; γ) London (*loc. cit.* p. 189, No. 45), gr. 15.73; δ) London (*loc. cit.* p. 189, No. 46), gr. 15.65; ε) London (*loc. cit.* p. 189, No. 47), gr. 15.34; ϛ) London (*loc. cit.* p. 189, No. 47 *bis.*), gr. 14.11; ζ) Paris (Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. II, p. 487, No. 774, Pl. cxv, 13), gr. 15.80; η) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Num. Zeitschr.* Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 9, No. 20), gr. 17.; θ) Hague (Coll. Six), gr. 16.40; ι) Sir Herman Weber Coll., No. 8202, Pl. 302, gr. 16.07; κ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 820, Pl. xxi), gr. 16.05; λ) Löbbecke Coll., Hess Sale, Jan. 1926, No. 395, Pl. vi), gr. 16.95; μ) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2699, Pl. lxvii, gr. 16.88; ν) Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2776, Pl. xxxi, gr. 15.83; ξ) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2700, Pl. lxvii, gr. 15.71; ο) Egger Sale XXXIX, Jan. 1912, No. 347, Pl. xi, gr. 15.50; π) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 782, Pl. xxi, gr. 15.47; ρ) Helbing Sale, Nov. 1928, No. 4106, Pl. 75, gr. 13.7; σ) De Nanteuil Coll., No. 484 (Ciani Sale, June 1920, No. 146, Pl. iv), Pl. xxx, gr. 15.92; τ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2870, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 16.08; υ) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2743, Pl. lxxv, gr. 16.90; φ) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1638, Pl. 56, gr. 16.47; χ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 747, Pl. 25, gr. 16.09; ψ) Newell, gr. 15.85;

[3] Later to be changed, as we saw, to the elephant quadriga type.

[4] *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, Vol. IV, 1884, pp. 132–133 and Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 219–222.

[5] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, pp. 1–9.

[6] *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, Introd. pp. cxli–cxlviii, pp. 180–191.

ω) Newell (Dr. Rouvier's Coll.), gr. 16.50; $\alpha\alpha$) Newell, gr. 15.82; $\beta\beta$) Newell, gr. 15.62; $\gamma\gamma$) Newell, gr. 15.65; $\delta\delta$) Newell (Dr. Rouvier's Coll.), gr. 16.28. PLATE XXI, 3; $\epsilon\epsilon$) Newell (Brought back from Babylonia by Dr. Haynes), gr. 16.19. PLATE XXI, 4; $\varphi\varphi$) Newell, gr. 15.20. PLATE XXI, 5; $\zeta\zeta$–$\nu\nu$) Cambridge, McClean Coll., Vol. III, Nos. 9567–9574, Pl. 355, Nos. 13–15, grs. 15.75, 15.31, 15.97, 15.60, 15.70, 15.71, 15.58, 15.88.

264. LION DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Sometimes only one rung to *diphros*.

Similar to the preceding, but the lion reverts its head to gaze at the ANCHOR symbol.

α) London (Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. 189, No. 48, Pl. xxii, 7. This coin has four pellets beneath the exergual line on the reverse), gr. 3.75; β) Turin (Imhoof-Blumer, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, Pl. 1, 23), gr. 3.75; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 748, Pl. 25, gr. 3.62; δ) Newell, gr. 2.49; ϵ) Newell, gr. 3.25. PLATE XXI, 6; φ) Newell (one rung to seat—Dr. Haynes, from Babylonia), gr. 3.75. PLATE XXI, 7.

265. LION HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α) London (Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. 189, No. 49, Pl. xxii, 8), gr. 1.98; β) Paris (Babelon, *Traité*, II^2, p. 490, No. 783, Pl. cxv, 17), gr. 1.75; γ) Newell (brought back from Babylonia by Dr. Haynes), gr. 1.56. PLATE XXI, 8.

266. LION HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to preceding, but only one rung to seat.

Similar to preceding, but the lion is advancing to r.

London (Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. 189, No. 50, Pl. xxii, 9), gr. 1.76. PLATE XXI, 9.

GROUP C

267. LION STATER.

Similar to No. 263, but with an uncertain symbol (CLUB, LEAF, or FISH ?) in field to l.

Exactly similar to No. 263.

Newell, gr. 15.27. PLATE XXI, 10.

268. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding, but with PELLET beneath the seat, and no symbol in the field.

Similar to the preceding, but with CRAB in the exergue.

Newell (Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 666), gr. 15.85. PLATE XXI, 11.

269. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding, but of slightly finer style. Beneath seat, M. The circle of dots is very delicately rendered. Only one rung to the seat.

Similar to the preceding, but with PENTALPHA in the exergue. The circle of dots is very delicately rendered.

Newell, gr. 16.67. PLATE XXI, 12.

GROUP D

270. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding, but with no letter beneath the seat. Henceforth, only one rung to seat.

Similar to Nos. 261–263 and Nos. 267–268 and, like them, of coarser style. Above lion, ANCHOR. In the exergue, ⋔.

α) Cambridge, McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9565, Pl. 355, 11, gr. 16.70; β) Newell (Hill, *loc. cit.* p. cxlviii, No. 18, Pl. li), gr. 15.25. PLATE XXI, 13; γ) Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 378, No. 41, gr. 15.70.

GROUP E

271. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR and Π. In the exergue, ΔΣ and Ϟ.

Newell, gr. 16.68. PLATE XXI, 14.

GROUP F

272. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR and Π. In the exergue, ΔΔ and CRESCENT.

α) Paris (Babelon, *Traité* II², p. 487, No. 776, Pl. cxv, 15), gr. 16.70; β) London (Hill, *loc. cit.* p. 190, No. 55, Pl. xxii, 14), gr. 16.83. PLATE XXI, 15.

273. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR and Π. In the exergue, ΔΔ and STAR.

London (Hill, *loc. cit.* p. 190, No. 56, Pl. xxii, 15), gr. 16.73. PLATE XXI, 16.

274. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR and Π. In the exergue, IVY LEAF and ΔΔ.

α) London (Hill, *loc. cit.* p. 190, No. 57), gr. 16.56; β) Cambridge, McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9566, Pl. 355, 12, gr. 16.20.

275. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR and Π. In the exergue, ΔΔ and LAUREL LEAF.

α–β) London (Hill, *loc. cit.* p. 191, Nos. 58 and 59, Pl. xxii, 16 and *Numismatische Zeitschrift* Vol. XXVII, 1895, Pl. i, 21. No. 58 is from the Sir Herman Weber Coll., No. 8204, Pl. 302), gr. 16.36 and 15.16; γ) Newell (Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2702, Pl. lxvii = *Berl. Münzblätter*, N. F., 1919, Pl. 85, 7), gr. 15.19. PLATE XXI, 17.

GROUP G

276. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR and Π. In the exergue, Ϡ and IVY LEAF.

α) London (Hill, *loc. cit.* p. 191, No. 60, Pl. xxii, 17 = Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III², No. 8205, Pl. 302), gr. 15.28; β) Newell (Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2701, Pl. lxvii), gr. 13.18 (this piece may be *fourrée*). PLATE XXI, 18.

277. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR and Π. In the exergue, Ⱥ and STAR.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Monnaies grecques*, p. 378, No. 43. Cf. Dr. Lederer, *Berl. Münzblätter*, N. F., 1919, Pl. 85, 7a), gr. 15.60.

GROUP H

278. LION STATER.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, HORNED HORSE'S HEAD to r. Two rungs to seat. | Similar to the preceding. Above lion, ANCHOR. In the exergue, ⋈.

Newell (Hill, *loc. cit.* cxlviii, No. 17, Pl. li), gr. 16.89. PLATE XXI, 19.

279. LION DIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding.

α) Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1180, Pl. 18, gr. 6.5; β) Newell, gr. 6.70. PLATE XXI, 20; γ–δ) London (Hill, *loc. cit.* p. 190, Nos. 52 and 53, Pl. xxii, 12 and 13. No. 12 is from the Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 8203, Pl. 302), gr. 6.30, 6.25. PLATE XXI, 21.

280. LION DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. The monogram has the form ⋈.

α) Paris (Babelon, *Traité* II², p. 490, No. 779, Pl. cxv, 16), gr. 3.30; β) Newell, gr. 3.18. PLATE XXI, 22.

281. LION HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but without symbol in the field. | Lion standing to l., with head reverted and tail raised. In the exergue, ⋈.

Newell, gr. 1.81. PLATE XXI, 23.

282. LION STATER.

Similar to Nos. 278–280, with same symbol in the field, but of very different style. | Lion walking to l. Above, ANCHOR. In the exergue, Γ or M (?).

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 378, No. 46 and *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, Pl. i, 22), gr. 16.32.

Like the issues of Seleucia and all but the very earliest of the Alexandrine coinages of Babylon itself, these lion staters and their fractions are struck from loose dies. No. 261 (PLATE XXI, 1), bearing the letter *zeta* above the lion, appears to form the connection between the present series and the preceding issues which are characterized by the presence of a changing letter, monogram or symbol above the lion. The anchor, distinctly visible upon the lion's haunch on both Nos. 261 and 262, proclaims the fact that we have now reached the staters certainly coined under Seleucus. Commencing with Group B, a large anchor henceforth always fills the space above the lion. Group B must represent an enormous issue, to judge by the great number of examples which survive to our day.

Groups C to H follow, invariably marked with the anchor above the lion, but now possessing accompanying letters, symbols or monograms, at times all three, placed either on the obverse or in the exergue of the reverse. With but two exceptions (i. e. Nos. 269 and 282), the style exhibited by these coins is so strikingly identical with that of the immediately preceding Nos. 261 to 267, that all must obviously have emanated from a single mint and surely represent a continuous and uninterrupted coinage covering many years. The only ones concerning which there might exist doubts as to their having once formed a part of these issues, are the above-mentioned Nos. 269 and 282. The former displays a more delicate, the latter a more barbarized, style than is found on the remainder of our coins. But the anchor symbol appearing on both pieces, accompanied by the horned horse's head on No. 282, would seem to connect both coins with the issues now being studied. The hemidrachm No. 281 (PLATE XXI, 23), has also been included, somewhat doubtfully, as it does not possess the anchor above the lion. But the style and fabric of the little coin is the same as that of the others, while the monogram in the exergue appears to be merely a simplification of the complicated monogram in the exergues of Nos. 278–279 and is identical with the monogram on No. 280.

In passing, it may be noted that some vague relationship may exist between these lion staters and the ordinary and contemporaneous regal issues of Seleucia. The letter *pi* is placed beneath the anchor symbol on Nos. 271–277, and the same letter also occurs at Seleucia, either above or to the r. of the anchor on Nos. 31–33 (*c.* 299–298 B. C.). Further, the monogram  which marks the lion staters Nos. 276–277, likewise appears at Seleucia on Nos. 47–51A (*c.* 295–294 B. C.) and 92–98 (*c.* 287–286 B. C.). These similarities between certain control marks used in the two series may be pure coincidence, and the writer is reluctant to lay much stress on them. Certainly there would seem to be no connection between the PENTALPHA on the lion stater No. 269 and the similar symbol on the Seleucian coins, Nos. 100–106. A similar puzzling but probably superficial connection can be pointed out between our lion staters of Groups E–G and a certain series of Alexander coins, Müller Nos. 1503–1507 and similar pieces not known to him. These 'Alexanders' all bear on their reverses the symbol, anchor, while the letter *pi* may be seen beneath the throne. At the same time certain monograms, such as , , and the symbol , are common to these particular 'Alexanders' and to the lion staters of Groups E–G. But the Alexander coins are too closely connected with preceding issues of Aradus in Phoenicia to suppose that they could have been coined in any of the Babylonian mints. Nor would their style and fabric allow us to assign these lion staters to Aradus.

At what date the Babylonian series terminated is not certain. The very lowest possible limit must be the year 275 B. C., the thirty-seventh year of the Seleucid era in Babylonia, when Antiochus decreed the final removal of the civilian population of Babylon to Seleucia.[7] It is probable, however, that the coinage of lion staters had ceased before this—possibly about the time that Susa replaced its own lion

[7] Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 153–6.

staters with a new issue bearing as types the head of Zeus and the elephant.[8] Or they may have lasted throughout the reign of Seleucus I, their mint being finally closed down in the troublous times which almost immediately followed. Probably all the available precious metals were at that time used in the production of Antiochus' standard coinage (Nos. 140–144), of which 'a great quantity' had to be sent to supply the army in Syria.[9]

The weights of these lion staters are very erratic, even between specimens equally well preserved. When first coined under Mazaeus, their weights were evidently based on the Attic standard, but very soon they fall so consistently below the norm that most scholars are agreed that they were now probably intended to circulate as three Persian *sigli*.[10] This view should be accepted with some reserve. Regling[11] has shown that the normal weight of the Persian *siglus* is 5.60 grammes, the average 5.38 grammes, while a table of frequency places the mass of the coins between 5.26 and 5.60 grammes. Of the thirty-eight[12] specimens of the lion stater (coined after the time of Mazaeus) now in the British Museum, no less than ten, or over 26.37%, weigh 16.80 grammes or more. Of the fifty-six specimens of the lion stater coined under Seleucus, catalogued above, seven, or 12.5%, also weigh over 16.80 grammes. These figures represent a surprisingly high proportion of coins brought out above the supposed norm. On the other hand, no less surprising is the very large number of staters, in an apparently fine state of preservation, which fall a great way below the supposed norm, even below 16.00 grammes. Either the weighing and adjusting of the blanks was done with extreme carelessness, or the coins were largely used as bullion, to be weighed in bulk at each larger transaction. In support of this suggestion, is the fact that the contemporary Alexandrine and elephant-quadriga issues of Seleucus were much more carefully adjusted to their norm.[13] These coins were surely intended for wide circulation throughout the eastern Greek world, while the area of circulation of the lion staters was apparently confined to Babylonia and parts of Iran, where they are almost invariably found.

In view of the fact that the lion staters were certainly at first coined by Mazaeus on the Attic weight system, and because they are always divided, according to the western Greek practice, into halves, quarters, eighths and twenty-fourths (i. e. tetradrachms, didrachms, drachms, hemidrachms and obols) and not into thirds, sixths and twelfths according to the Persic system, it seems to the writer that the intent remained to issue the staters on the Attic system. Considerable latitude, however, was gradually allowed the mint officials because the coins were not a

[8] See below, pp. 118 and 122–3.

[9] As we learn from the British Museum tablet, Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 156. Cf., also, p. 61.

[10] Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. xlvi.

[11] *Klio*, XIV, 1915, pp. 91ff.

[12] Not counting the pieces which are probably *fourrée*.

[13] At first glance, the weights of the elephant-quadriga coins do not support this statement. But the fact is, that over 36% of the extant specimens come from Gejou's Mesopotamian and Prof. Haynes' Babylonian Hoards. The coins in both deposits were corroded to an unusual extent, and their subsequent cleaning has necessarily reduced their original weights by as much as ten per cent.

royal issue intended for a "world wide" circulation, but largely to supply a local demand.[14]

[14] The somewhat daring thought occurs to the writer that these lion staters may possibly have had some connection with the great temple of Babylon and its vast hierarchy of priests. Could they, by any chance, have represented some sort of temple money, in which case any over-careful adjusting of their weights may not have been so necessary? It is curious—or is it a mere coincidence?—that the Jewish shekels of the First Revolt, whose coinage must also have been more or less connected with the hierarchy at Jerusalem, should three and a half centuries later so greatly resemble these lion staters in general form and fabric. The great quantity and long continued issue of the lion staters and their fractions is indeed an anomaly, especially when we remember that the royal mint at Babylon was at the same time coining truly vast amounts of "standard" coin which, being carefully adjusted and in wide demand, one would have thought would soon have supplanted in popular usage the more carelessly adjusted lion staters. If the latter are really temple or "sacred" money, then one would have to explain the issue of similar pieces brought out from time to time at the mints of Susa and Ecbatana. However, any large circulation of coin at Babylon, the metropolis of the east, would inevitably cause a certain "drift" of such coin into the adjoining provinces and possibly there create a demand for a local coinage of that particular type. On the other hand, Tarn points out in his *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 29, that the great temple of Artemis-Nanaia at Susa enjoyed 'financial autonomy' and that (p. 464) 'it was a little temple-state with its own treasury, a state within a state.' He expressly likens it, among other such shrines, to the great temple at Babylon. In an accompanying footnote he draws attention to 'the temple of Anaïtis mentioned by Aelian where tame lions lived in the precinct.' If the temple at Babylon could issue 'temple money,' so too, presumably, could the hardly less important and famous temples of Artemis-Nanaia at Susa and of Aene at Ecbatana. The temple money (if such it be) of these latter then also took the form of 'lion staters,' described below in Chapters III and V. Demanding explanation also, is the fact that for many years double and (more rarely) single gold darics of Achaemenid type were coined alongside the lion staters. These gold coins seem, almost invariably, to turn up in eastern Iran and Bactria, and not in Babylonia. But as most of our specimens, of which we possess any record at all, have come from the single great "Treasure of the Oxus." this seeming fact may be illusory. That both double darics and lion staters were mostly coined at Babylon is certain. The term "temple money" is here put forward as a pure suggestion—a subject for discussion rather than because of any conviction on the writer's part that the supposition is at present demonstrable.

CHAPTER III

Susa

Susa was the capital and chief city of the Province of Susiana which, in the main, corresponded with the ancient country of Elam, the later Elymais. The city lay near the head of a fertile plain watered by the rivers Kerkha (the classical Choaspes) and Karun (the classical Eulaeus), a plain which stretched to the east of the Tigris river and was ever culturally, economically and historically allied with, and itself similar to, the land of Babylonia. This rich and populous land, the earliest portion of Persia to become civilized, and its royal city of Susa, had a long and glorious history centuries before the coming of the Persians. Strabo tells[1] us that Cyrus placed the capital of his empire at Susa because of its situation and the importance of the city. Darius built a splendid palace there which, however, was later destroyed by fire, only to be yet more magnificently rebuilt by Artaxerxes Mnemon. P. M. Sykes, in his *History of Persia*, grows quite lyrical over the city's site and says:[2] "To the traveller crossing the level plains, the mounds of Susa appear to rise to a great height, and it is not difficult to imagine how imposing they must have been crowned with splendid edifices and probably set in palm-groves amid a sea of waving corn, the whole picture being backed by range after range of grim mountains rising in sombre majesty to snow-capped peaks." Familiarly known to us as "Shushan the Palace" of the Book of Esther, it was a favorite residence of the Achaemenid kings. No wonder that the Greeks looked upon Susa as the capital of the Great King; it was there that Aeschylus laid the scene of the *Persae*. Immediately after the fall of Babylon, Alexander marched upon Susa and secured it. The city lost little of its importance when the great Macedonian had finally taken over the Persian empire from the feeble hands of Darius Codomannus.

Not long after the death of Alexander, a mint was opened at Susa, and numerous coins, modelled on the contemporaneous issues of Babylon, were produced there over a period of many years. Soon after 312–311 B. C., Seleucus was able to add the provinces of Media and Susiana to his satrapy, and Susa was renamed Seleucia ad Eulaeum[3] by the conqueror. More or less contemporaneously with the founding of Seleucia on the Tigris and the opening of a mint there, the old mint at Susa proceeded to strike the following coins.

[1] XV. 3. 2.

[2] P. 60.

[3] Haussoullier, *Inscriptions de l'Extrême-Orient grec*, in *Mélanges Perrot*, 1903, p. 157. Cf., also, F. Cumont in *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XX, p. 82.

SELEUCUS I

SERIES I, *c.* 310–300 B. C.

GROUP A

283. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus, naked to waist, seated to l. on a high-backed throne. He rests l. on a sceptre and holds an eagle in his outstretched r. In l. field, WREATH above ANCHOR above BULL'S HEAD. Beneath throne, ΔΙ above, Ξ beneath the rung.

London. PLATE XXII, 1.

284. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the legs of Zeus are crossed and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is visible in the exergue. In l. field, WREATH above HORNED HORSE'S HEAD to l. Beneath throne, ΔΙ above, Ξ below the rung.

London. PLATE XXII, 2.

GROUP B

285. STATER.
Head of Athena to r., wearing a triple-crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a running sphinx.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Winged Nike standing to l., holding a wreath in her outstretched r. Beneath her hand, EB above HORNED HORSE'S HEAD above T I .

London. PLATE XXII, 3.

286. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to Nos. 283–284.

Similar to No. 284. In l. field, WREATH and BOEOTIAN SHIELD above HORNED HORSE'S HEAD l. Beneath throne, B E .

α) London. PLATE XXII, 4; β) Newell, gr. 16.95. PLATE XXII, 5. Both coins are struck from the same obverse die.

287. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but henceforth Zeus' legs are in the parallel position. In l. field, WREATH and BOEOTIAN SHIELD above HORSE'S HEAD l. Beneath throne, BE above, TI beneath the rung.

London (*Num. Chronicle*, 5th Ser., Vol. XVII, 1937, p. 238, No. 7, Pl. xxxi), gr. 16.90.

288. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbols and letters.

Newell, gr. 4.15. PLATE XXII, 6.

289. HEMIDRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, WREATH above HORNED HORSE'S HEAD to l. Beneath throne, BE above, TI beneath the rung.

α) Newell, gr. 1.40; β) Newell, gr. 1.36. PLATE XXII, 7; γ) Newell, gr. 1.37. PLATE XXII, 8.

GROUP C

290. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 286.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus, with legs placed parallel, seated to l., as above. In l. field, ANCHOR. Beneath throne, ⋈.

Newell (from Persia), gr. 16.39. PLATE XXII, 9.

291. BRONZE UNIT.
Head of Alexander to r., wearing elephant's skin.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Anchor, flukes below. Apparently no monogram or symbol is present.

α) Newell (from Persia), gr. 3.09. PLATE XXII, 10; β) Newell, gr. 4.49. PLATE XXII, 11; γ) London (Babelon, *loc. cit.* Introd. p. v, fig. 5. This specimen originally came from Persia. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, New Series, Vol. I, 1861, pp. 137–9), gr. 4.22.

GROUP D

292. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 290.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. In l. field, ANCHOR above ⋔. Beneath throne, Σ above, AP beneath the rung.

α) Munich; β) Berlin; γ) London (from Persia). PLATE XXII, 12.
β and γ are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

293. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ANCHOR. Beneath throne, Σ above, A P beneath the rung.

George Bauer Coll. ↖, gr. 17.09. PLATE XXII, 13.

294. BRONZE UNIT.
Head of Alexander to r., as on No. 291.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged victory standing to l.; holds wreath in her outstretched r. In l. field, inverted ANCHOR.

α) Susa, *Mission en Susiane*, Vol. XXV, p. 4, No. 9, gr. 3.80; β) Berlin (Friedlaender in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. III, p. 76, Pl. viii, 4. Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Introd., p. v, fig. 4); γ) London, gr. 3.86; δ) Newell (from Urumia), gr. 4.83; ε) Newell (from Urumia), gr. 4.39; ζ) Newell, gr. 4.41. PLATE XXII (the obverses of Nos. 14 and 17 have become interchanged on the plate), 14; ζ) Newell, gr. 3.89. PLATE XXII, 15; η) London, gr. 4.01. PLATE XXII, 16; θ) London (from the same obverse die as the preceding), gr. 5.88; ι) London, gr. 4.50; κ) London, gr. 4.00; λ) London, gr. 4.06; μ) London, gr. 3.96; ν) London, gr. 4.81; ξ) London, gr. 3.83.

295. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ANCHOR. In r. field, Σ.

α) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 3165), gr. 3.71. PLATE XXII, 17; β) London, gr. 3.96. PLATE XXII, 18.

296. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding, but of slightly divergent style.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ANCHOR above Ꞧ.

α) Newell (from Urumia), gr. 3.85; β) London, gr. 4.15. PLATE XXII, 19.

297. BRONZE HALF.

Of the same style as the preceding.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Inverted Anchor. In outer r. field, HORNED HORSE'S HEAD to r. above AP.

Seleucia, p. 4, No. 2, Pl. ii, gr. 2.37. PLATE XXII, 20.

GROUP E

298. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. wearing a triple-crested Corinthian helmet, adorned with winged sphinx seated to r.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Victory standing l. holding wreath. In l. field, HELIOS BUST. In r. inner field, AP. In the exergue, ⋈.

London. PLATE XXIII, 1.

299. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 293.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. as on No. 293. In l. field, HELIOS BUST above ⋈. Beneath throne, M above AP.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 756, Pl. 26, gr. 17.08. PLATE XXIII, 5; β) Newell, gr. 17.07. PLATE XXIII, 3; γ) Newell, gr. 17.13. PLATE XXIII, 2; δ) London (Gardner, No. 8), gr. 16.37; ε) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, No. 345, Pl. xviii), gr. 17.06. PLATE XXIII, 4. The obverses are apparently all from the same die, but exhibiting various stages of fracture.

GROUP A

The first tetradrachms here tentatively assigned to Susa under the rule of Seleucus, are united by their common symbol WREATH, as well as by the magistrates'

initials ΔI and I found beneath the throne on both examples. In addition, No. 283 (PLATE XXII, 1) bears an anchor and bull's head, No. 284 (PLATE XXII, 2) the head of a horned horse—all being insignia peculiar to Seleucus. No. 283 probably once also possessed the royal title in the exergue (just as does its companion piece, No. 284), but the title chances to be off flan on the single specimen which has come down to us.

In details of style, though not in fabric, these two coins represent somewhat of a break between the preceding issues of Susa[4] and those catalogued under the succeeding Group B. In both style and fabric, the latter connect directly with the earlier Susian issues. Hence Nos. 283 and 284 are only tentatively incorporated here. On the other hand, their symbol WREATH (to say nothing of the horned horse's head on No. 284) is characteristic of Group B, whose Susian origin is certain. It is possible that when Seleucus seized Susa, the operations of its mint were temporarily so disorganized that interim die-cutters (distinguishable by the inferior quality of their work) had to be found to produce at once the necessary money. Later, the former die-cutters were re-employed and the mint continued to function as before.

Although the symbols point definitely to Seleucus, the coins are still struck in the name of Alexander. Perhaps the name of the new ruler of Iran was not yet well enough known and respected by the more primitive peoples of the interior, or of the sea coasts of southern Persia and of Arabia, with whom Susa enjoyed commercial relations, to render advisable the employment on this coinage of the name of Seleucus. The name of the great Alexander still more than sufficed to guarantee the quality and wide acceptability of the coins. How resistant to even insignificant monetary innovations primitive peoples can be, is illustrated by the anachronistic Maria Theresa thaler still current in Abyssinia and other parts of Africa and Arabia. To be acceptable, it must bear only the date 1780 and the mint-master's initials S. F.[5] Even the pearls in the Empress' diadem are scrutinized (there must not be less than five, or more than eight, while seven are preferable); and nine pearls must show in the *fibula* on her shoulder!

GROUP B

This Group is both larger and more varied than A, for it comprises not only tetradrachms but gold staters, silver drachms and hemidrachms as well. The connecting links with the preceding group are the wreath (on the silver only) and the horned horse's head. Nos. 286 to 288 have, in addition, a Boeotian shield—an object not often found on eastern coinages but which, none-the-less, we shall find appearing again a few years later on Susian issues. On one tetradrachm of Group B (No. 286, PLATE XXII, 4–5), Zeus is depicted with his right foot drawn back behind his left. The same is true of the immediately preceding tetradrachm No. 284. But on all the other silver coins of Groups A and B his legs are placed in the earlier parallel position. The name of Alexander is retained until we reach Group E.

[4] Cf. Müller Nos. 1562–5, and many accompanying pieces not known to him.

[5] Howland Wood in The Coin Collector's Journal, Vol. 3, No. 1, April, 1936, p. 14.

GROUPS C AND D

These two groups appear to have comprised tetradrachms and bronze pieces only. In style the tetradrachms are identical with the preceding specimens. Henceforth, Zeus always displays the parallel position of the legs, giving these coins quite an "archaic" air, as compared with the contemporaneous Alexandrine issues of the remainder of the Greek world. The sole symbol in the field is now the anchor of Seleucus. No. 290 (PLATE XXII, 9) bears a complicated monogram (apparently composed of the letters AN⊙E) beneath the throne, while Nos. 292 and 293 (PLATE XXII, 12, 13) have the letters Σ and AP in the same location. The coins are still struck in the name of Alexander.

In Group C, for the first time, the mint at Susa follows the example already set by that of Seleucia on the Tigris and introduces a bronze coinage. The types chosen are most interesting. On the obverse (PLATE XXII, 10–11), is the head of Alexander the Great wearing the elephant's skin, just as it is found on Ptolemy's silver coinage, with which Seleucus doubtless became very familiar while exiled from Babylonia (316–312 B. C.) when he had sought refuge at the Egyptian court and had been made admiral of Ptolemy's fleet. The anchor on the reverse may, as Svoronos has already suggested,[6] refer to that circumstance. More probably, however, it is but the personal emblem of Seleucus[7] and proclaims these coins to be his, despite the name of Alexander which accompanies the type. The selection, at this particular moment, of Alexander's head wearing the elephant's *exuvia* was surely occasioned by the fact that Seleucus had now penetrated the eastern marches of Iran, with the avowed intention of recovering India for the Greeks and of emulating the exploits of the great Alexander. With the succeeding Group D, the reverse type of the bronze coins (Nos. 294–6, PLATE XXII, 14–19) is changed to a standing figure of victory, holding out a wreath, and with it crowning the anchor of Seleucus which is upright in the field before her. Undoubtedly, these new coins commemorate the same events as do the contemporary issues of Seleucia,[8] namely the recent successes obtained by Seleucus in India. Particularly appropriate is also the obverse type, which continued to suggest to his subjects that Seleucus was but another Alexander, crowned with the spoils of India.[8a] Thus, these little copper "victory" coins served the purpose of disseminating the news of Seleucus' triumphs —and help us to date the group of which they form a part. The former reverse type of the anchor is now relegated to the bronze "half" (No. 297, PLATE XXII, 20), where it is accompanied by the other emblem of Seleucus, the horned horse's head. The letters A P , which appear on Nos. 296 and 297, associate these coins with the silver pieces of both this and the following groups.

[6] Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, Vol. I, pp. ρ′–ρα′.

[7] For a discussion of the anchor, see above, p. 44.

[8] See above, pp. 20–21.

[8a] For the apparent ideas which lay behind the use of the elephant-scalp, its symbolism of wide-extended power and its particular application to Alexander and Seleucus, see Tarn, *The Greeks in India and Bactria*, p. 131.

GROUP E, *c.* 301–300 B. C.

Seleucus apparently now considered his power and prestige so firmly established in the east that his own name might, henceforth, replace that of Alexander on all his coinages. The style (cf. PLATE XXIII, 1–5), however, is that of the preceding coins and we find the same small Heracles' head, the same stiff figure of Zeus with his legs in the parallel position, and, finally, the magistrate's letters AP, as in the previous group. The Seleucid anchor disappears from the field, its presence perhaps rendered no longer necessary as the inscription itself proclaims the name of Seleucus. In its place we find a facing, rayed bust of Helios, doubtless a magistrate's symbol. Beneath it, is a new monogram, while under the throne is a *mu* above the now customary letters, AP.

SERIES II, *c.* 300–298 B. C.

GROUP A

300. DRACHM.
Head of Seleucus I to r. wearing helmet covered with a panther's skin and adorned with the ear and horns of a bull. A panther's skin and paws is knotted about the neck. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Winged victory standing to r. placing a wreath on a trophy of arms. In field, M and BOEOTIAN SHIELD.

α) Leningrad (*Jour. int. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 133, No. 39), gr. 4; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 3.99. PLATE XXIII, 6.

GROUP B

a) Victory Types

301. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In field, AP, HELIOS BUST, 𐤀.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 797, Pl. 27, gr. 15.76. PLATE XXIII, 7.

302. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To l. of victory, AP. To r. of victory, 𐤀.

α) Paris (Babelon, *loc. cit.* No. 45, Pl. i, 15. On this specimen the letters are reversed: ꟻA instead of AP), gr. 3.10. PLATE XXIII, 9; β) Berlin (Fox Coll. from Whittall, 1851), gr. 3.14. PLATE XXIII, 8.

b) Alexandrine Types

303. STATER.
Head of Athena to r., wearing a triple-crested Corinthian helmet adorned with seated sphinx to r.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Nike standing to l., holding a wreath in her outstretched r. To l., 𐤀; to r., AP.

Newell, gr. 8.58. PLATE XXIII, 10.

304. TETRADRACHM.

Similar in all details to No. 299.

Similar to No. 299. In l. field, HELIOS BUST above [A]. Beneath throne, M above, AP beneath rung. Circle of dots.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 10, Pl. i, 6), gr. 17.05; β) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.30. PLATE XXIII, 11. α and β are from the same obverse but different reverse dies.

305. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, HELIOS BUST. Beneath throne, AP above, [A] below the rung.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 772, Pl. 26, gr. 2.07. PLATE XXIII, 12.

306. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, [A] Beneath throne, AP.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 773, Pl. 26, gr. 0.64. PLATE XXIII, 13.

c) Elephant Types

307. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Helmeted and draped Athena, holding shield in outstretched l. and brandishing javelin in upraised r., standing in chariot drawn by two horned elephants to r. Above shield, SPEAR-HEAD. To r. of elephants, HELIOS BUST. In the exergue, [A] AP.

α) Newell (Serbian Hoard, 1925), gr. 17.02. PLATE XXIII, 14; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 16.83. PLATE XXIII, 15. These two coins are from the same obverse, but different reverse dies.

308. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbols, monogram and letters.

α) Newell (Hirsch Sale XXXIII, Nov. 1913, No. 883), gr. 3.99. PLATE XXIII, 16; β) Vienna, gr. 4.15. PLATE XXIII, 17. α and β are from the same obverse but different reverse dies.

GROUP A

At Susa, the decisive victory of Ipsus, gained by Seleucus in 301 B. C. over Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, was suitably commemorated by an issue of coins. In every detail of design, the Susian pieces (No. 300, PLATE XXIII, 6) copy those of Persepolis (Nos. 413–427, PLATE XXXII). In the field of No. 300 appears the letter M, accompanied by the curious Boeotian shield previously found on the tetradrachms and drachm, Nos. 286, 287 and 288. The *mu* probably represents the same official who had placed the initial letter of his name

on the immediately preceding issue, Series I, Group E, No. 299. It should be noted that there has been published a tetradrachm of the victory type[9] bearing the Boeotian shield symbol but accompanied by a monogram which occurs only on certain of the victory coins (Nos. 424–7), struck at Persepolis. But the coin is *fourrée* and so must be disregarded. It is obviously the production of some ancient forger's mint.

GROUP B

This group is unusually varied as to types, but all of its coins are guaranteed by the same officials. The issue of the victory tetradrachm and drachm is continued (PLATE XXIII, 7–9), but these now bear the Helios-bust symbol of Series I, Group E, and the letters AP of Groups D and E. They are accompanied by a monogram composed of the latters *pi* and *alpha*. At the same time the Alexandrine type coinage of Series I was also continued, and in exactly the same style and fabric as heretofore. The tetradrachm and hemidrachm (PLATE XXIII, 11–12), bear the same symbol, monogram and letters AP as the victory coins, while the stater and the obol (PLATE XXIII, 10, 13) have only the monogram and the letters. In addition, the tetradrachm also displays the letter M found on Nos. 299 and 300. Thus, these coins are closely bound not only with each other, but with the immediately preceding issues as well.

About 300–299 B. C. there was inaugurated at Seleucia an entirely new coinage whose types are the laureate head of Zeus on the obverse, and on the reverse a quadriga of elephants bearing the figure of Athena in fighting attitude. The same change now occurs at Susa in the course of Series II. The aforementioned Zeus head adorns the obverse, but on the reverse we find a *biga* of elephants, instead of the quadriga (PLATE XXIII, 14–17). There is also a further variation from the type as it is used at Seleucia. A *spear-head* replaces the more usual anchor of the Seleucian elephant coinage. Just what connotation, local or symbolic, the spear-head may have at Susa, remains uncertain. Possibly it should be looked upon, not as a spear- but as an arrow-point. In that case it could symbolize the deity most revered at Susa, the archer-goddess Artemis-Nanaia. In the following series (Nos. 329, 331, PLATE XXV, 5, 8) she is depicted in her chariot shooting an arrow from her bow, while her additional symbols, the bee and the bow itself, appear as accessories on yet other coins (Nos. 324–325, PLATE XXIV, 19–21; 327, PLATE XXV, 3; 338, PLATE XXV, 16). In any case, the 'spear-head' is destined to remain the peculiar mark of these Susian elephant coins for many years to come.[10] That our coins still form part and parcel of the same general issue as Nos. 301–306

[9] It first appeared in the Sotheby Sale of July 1910, No. 117, Pl. v, and later in the Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1667, Pl. 57, gr. 13.20.

[10] The spear-head also appears on an early variety of the lion stater (Cf. Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. 181, Nos. 4–5, Pl. xx, 17; xxi, 1), but neither variation in style nor in fabric separates these particular pieces from the remainder known to have been coined at Babylon. It is curious to note, however, that one of these spear-head lion staters (?) was actually found at Susa (Cf. *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse; Mission en Susiane*, Vol. XXV, p. 107, No. 20 where it is stated that the metal is bronze, the size 13.5 mm., and the weight 2.550 grammes, but the illustration on Pl. vi is obviously that of a stater!).

is assured by the continued presence of the Helios-bust symbol, the monogram 𐡀 and the letters AP.

SERIES III, *c.* 298–280 B. C.

GROUP A

a) Alexandrine Type

309. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles as on No. 304, and from the same die.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. as on No. 304. In l. field, 𐡀. Beneath the throne, 𐡊.

Berlin, gr. 16.345. PLATE XXIII, 18.

310. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡀. Beneath throne, APX.

α) Newell (Haynes), gr. 16.37. PLATE XXIII, 19; β) Milan. PLATE XXIV, 1; γ) Vienna, gr. 16.82. All are from the same obverse die; β and γ from the same reverse die.

311. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram and letters.

α) London (Gardner, No. 16), gr. 3.32; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 4.05. PLATE XXIV, 2; γ) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 349), gr. 3.57. PLATE XXIV, 3.

312. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡌 Beneath throne, APX. Circle of dots.

Vienna, gr. 16.93. PLATE XXIV, 4.

313. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡋 Beneath the throne, APX.

Vienna, gr. 16.88. PLATE XXIV, 5.

b) Elephant-biga Type

314. TETRADRACHM.

Same obverse die as No. 307.

Similar to No. 307. In front of the elephants, AP(X?). In the exergue, (𐡀?).

Newell (Sir Herman Weber Coll. No. 7836, Pl. 285), gr. 16.25 (after cleaning). PLATE XXIV, 6.

GROUP B

315. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, except that ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ is missing. In front of the elephants, E.

α) Newell, gr. 1.97. PLATE XXIV, 7; β) London (Gardner, No. 34, Pl. i, 10), gr. 1.34 (broken); γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 76, Pl. iii, 5), gr. 1.95. PLATE XXIV, 8; δ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 769), gr. 1.68. PLATE XXIV, 9. All four specimens appear to have been struck from the same obverse die. A comparison of the four pieces confirms the absence of the name.

GROUP C

a) Elephant-biga Type

316. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Type as on the preceding. In front of the elephants, M

α) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 787, Pl. 27. On its obverse this coin bears the counterstamp of the city of Callatis. The consequent flattening of the reverse renders the monogram somewhat uncertain), gr. 16.39; β) London (Gardner, No. 33, Pl. i, 8), gr. 16.82; γ) Berlin (v. Knobelsdorf Coll.), gr. 17.18. PLATE XXIV, 11; δ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2920, Pl. lxxxv), gr. 17.08; ε) Newell, gr. 16.98. PLATE XXIV, 10. ζ) Commerce, gr. 16.81.
γ, δ and ζ are from the same obverse, but from different reverse dies.

317. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r. wearing a crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of dots. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Elephant's head to r. Above, SPEAR-HEAD. In the exergue, M

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. The monogram on this piece is barely legible), gr. 2.975; β) Paris (acquired since Babelon's catalogue). PLATE XXIV, 12.
α and β are from the same obverse, but different reverse dies.

b) Lion Staters

318. LION SILVER STATER.

Ba'al, nude to waist, seated to l. on *diphros*, holds sceptre in r. and rests l. upon seat. Beneath seat, M. Circle of dots. Lion advancing l. with waving tail. In the exergue, Γ. Circle of dots.

Newell (Brought from Babylonia by Prof. Haynes), gr. 16.97. PLATE XXIV, 13.

319. LION SILVER STATER.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram. Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, Δ.

Newell, gr. 14.54 (cleaned). PLATE XXIV, 14.

320. LION DIOBOL (light triobol ?).

Similar to the preceding, but the monogram is off flan. Similar to the preceding, but with M in the exergue.

Newell (Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2705, Pl. lxvii), gr. 1.57. PLATE XXIV, 15.

321. LION SILVER STATER.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath seat, M. Similar to the preceding, but with A in the exergue.

London (Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. 184, No. 16 *bis*, Pl. xlviii, 8), gr. 16.93. PLATE XXIV, 16.

322. LION SILVER STATER.

Similar to the preceding, but the monogram is off flan.

Lion advancing to r. with tail curled between his legs. Above, ANCHOR. In the exergue, A.

Hague (Six Coll.), gr. 15.05. PLATE XXIV, 17.

c) Elephant Staters

323. ELEPHANT SILVER STATER.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

Elephant advancing to r. Above, SPEARHEAD. In the exergue, A. Circle of dots.

α) London (Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. 192, No. 64, Pl. xxiii, 2), gr. 16.67; β) Newell (Naville Sale XVII, Oct. 1934, No. 604, Pl. 19), gr. 16.77. PLATE XXIV, 18.

GROUP D

324. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Athena in her *biga* of elephants as on No. 316. Above shield, ANCHOR to l. In front of the elephants, M and BEE.

α) Carfrae Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1894, No. 295, Pl. x, 6, gr. 16.85. PLATE XXIV, 19; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 74, Pl. iii, 3), gr. 17.30. PLATE XXIV, 20.
α and β are from the same obverse but different reverse dies.

325. OBOL.

Head of Athena, wearing a crested Corinthian helmet, to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath. Horned elephant's head to r. Above, ANCHOR to l.; beneath, M and BEE.

α) Newell (from Dr. Lederer's Persian collection), gr. 0.50. PLATE XXIV, 21; β) *Rev. Suisse de Num.*, Vol. xiv, 1908, p. 122, No. 1, Pl. iv, 21, gr. 0.42.

GROUP E

326. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 324.

Similar to No. 324, but here the ANCHOR is to r. In front of the elephants, ⊜.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.07. PLATE XXV, 1; β) Mr. George Bauer (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 786, Pl. 27 = Prowe Coll., Egger Sale, Nov. 1904, No. 1525), gr. 16.13. PLATE XXV, 2.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

327. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Same inscription as on the preceding, but now Athena is in a *quadriga* of elephants. In front of the elephants, ⊜ and BEE(?).

Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No 2855, Pl. xxxii), gr. 16.47. PLATE XXV, 3.

328. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Above the elephants, ∑.

Jameson Coll., No. 1654, Pl. lxxxiii (= Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 563, Pl. xvii), gr. 16.85. PLATE XXV, 4.

GROUP F

329. STATER.

Laureate head of Apollo to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Artemis, shooting arrow, in *biga* of elephants, to r. Above, SPEAR-HEAD. In front, K.

Cast in Munich (Cf. Imhoof-Blumer in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXIII, 1901, p. 3, No. 1, Pl. I, 1), gr. 7.75. PLATE XXV, 5.

330. ELEPHANT SILVER STATER.

Laureate head of Zeus as on No. 323.

Elephant advancing to r., as on No. 323. Above, SPEAR-HEAD. In the exergue, K.

α) Ashburnham Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1895, No. 2, Pl. I, 2 (later in the Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.76. PLATE XXV, 6; β) Berlin (Fox Coll., *Greek Coins*, Part II, Pl. viii, 157), gr. 16.78. PLATE XXV, 7.

GROUP G

331. STATER.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. as on No. 329.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two lines in the exergue. Artemis in *biga* of elephants to r., as on No. 329. Above, ⊛. In front of elephants, ⊛. The nearest elephant wears a bell suspended from its neck.

Berlin (Cf. Imhoof-Blumer in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 12, No. 6, Pl. ii, 6), gr. 8.565. PLATE XXV, 8.

332. STATER.

Head of Athena to r., wearing triple-crested Corinthian helmet, adorned with a serpent.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Nike with wreath as on No. 303. To l., ⊛. To. r., ⊛.

London (Gardner, No. 3, Pl. i, 2), gr. 8.55. PLATE XXV, 9.

333. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two lines in the exergue. Fighting Athena in a *quadriga* of elephants to r. Above, ⊛ and ANCHOR. In front of elephants, ⊛. The nearest elephant has a bell suspended from its neck.

London (from Peshawar, India), gr. 16.89. PLATE XXV, 10.

334. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Head of bearded Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two lines in the exergue. Elephant, bell suspended from neck, advancing to r. Above, ANCHOR and Ⓐ. In front of elephant, Ⓜ.

α) Newell, gr. 18.38; β) Newell, gr. 16.55; γ) Berlin (from Sultanabad), gr. 17.79. PLATE XXV, 11; δ) Munich.

335. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

Vienna (Gift of Abd es Samad Mirza), gr. 8.65. PLATE XXV, 12.

336. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of beardless Heracles to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ circularly on l. Horned head of elephant to r. Vague traces of monograms below.

α) Newell, gr. 4.74. PLATE XXV, 13; β) London, gr. 4.68. PLATE XXV, 14.

337. STATER.

Head of Athena as on No. 332.

Inscription and Nike as on No. 332. To l., Ⓜ. To r., Ⓐ.

Newell (Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1031, Pl. 16), gr. 8.53. PLATE XXV, 15.

338. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. as on No. 333, and struck from the same die.

Inscription and type as on No. 333. Above, Ⓐ and ANCHOR. Behind Athena, BOW. In front of elephants, Ⓜ. The nearest elephant has a bell suspended from its neck.

Paris (Babelon, No. 71), gr. 15.85. PLATE XXV, 16.

339. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding, but without the symbol, BOW. Above, M and ANCHOR. In front of elephants, Ⓜ.

α) London (Gardner, No. 32, Pl. i, 9. Gen. Cunningham's Coll.), gr. 4.13. PLATE XXV, 17; β) Munich, gr. 4.16; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1423, gr. 4.2. All are from the same obverse die.

GROUP H

340. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r., of similar type to Nos. 333 and 338.

Inscription and type similar to Nos. 333 and 338. Beneath shield, Π. Above, ANCHOR and M.

London (Gen. Cunningham's Coll.), gr. 16.11. PLATE XXV, 18.

341. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Winged head of Medusa to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below humped bull butting to r. Above, 𐤀. In the exergue, 𐤌.

α–β) Paris (from Susa). PLATE XXV, 19.

GROUP A

The victory issues at Susa have now come to an end, but the Alexandrine (PLATE XXIII, 18–19 and PLATE XXIV, 1–5) and elephant-biga (PLATE XXIV, 6) types continue—and under the supervision of the same magistrates in charge of preceding coinages. However, AP now sometimes amplifies his initials so as to read APX (on Nos. 310 to 313, for instance). The monogram beneath the throne on No. 309 may represent an attempt to embody these three letters in monogram form. Not only do identical style and fabric carry over from the immediately preceding issue, but we actually find two old obverse dies being again used in the production of Nos. 309 and 314.

The varieties of the Alexander tetradrachm assembled under Group A are numerous enough (four distinct issues) to suggest that their coinage extended over a period of years. Especially is this the case as in their peculiar fabric, in the presence of the magistrate APX, and in the similarity between the monograms 𐤊 (No. 313) and 𐤊 (No. 342), they appear to possess a somewhat later but obvious continuation in a group (Nos. 342–344) which has been tentatively assigned to the first years of Antiochus I. This last attribution is fully discussed below, pp. 126–128. Whether Nos. 342–344 were actually coined under Antiochus I, or should, instead, be given to the final years of Seleucus I must for the present be considered uncertain. What does remain certain, however, is that we may note a distinct break in the continuity of the details of the reverse type between Nos. 309–313 (PLATES XXIII, 18–19; XXIV, 1–5) and Nos. 342–344 (PLATE XXVI, 1–3). In any case, we are bound to recognize that this Alexander-type coinage as a whole now appears to be a thing apart, and that alongside of it and henceforth marked with different monograms, must have come a series of divergent coinages which are described and discussed under Groups B to H. These latter, in turn, form a continuous series in themselves. Important to note, however, is that the existence of No. 314 (PLATE XXIV, 6) definitely ties them up with the immediately preceding issues of Susa, just as is the case with Nos. 309–313.

GROUP B

At present this group comprises only the hemidrachm No. 315 (PLATE XXIV, 7–9), placed here because in style it seems to be transitional between Nos. 314 and 316, partaking of the nature of both. Correspondingly larger denominations may some day put in an appearance. Throughout our study of the mint of Susa, we are hampered by very obvious gaps. That these gaps will probably be filled in the

future, is suggested by the fact that a surprisingly large number of the known varieties are preserved to us in single specimens only. There must have been many more varieties of which no examples at all have reached us.

GROUP C

The elephant-biga coins continue (PLATE XXIV, 10–11), but they are now marked by a new monogram composed of *mu* and *omega*. The style of the Zeus head is not quite so delicate as on the earlier issues, but the reverse remains about the same. The continued presence of the SPEAR-HEAD, associated with the chariot drawn by *two* elephants, assures us that we are still dealing with the issues of a single mint. Accompanying the tetradrachms are some drachms, bearing the same monogram and the usual spear-head, but now provided with new types. On the obverse is a helmeted head of Athena, while on the reverse we see an elephant's head to r. with upraised trunk (PLATE XXIV, 12).

During the course of this issue, Susa inaugurated its own coinage of lion staters, to supplement the elephant-biga coins. In general appearance, and especially in fabric, these staters (PLATE XXIV, 13–16) follow those of the sister mint at Babylon. In spite of this general similarity, the coins of Susa show significant variations in detail, which prove them to have been issued from a mint other than that at Babylon. The figure of Ba'al is of slightly different style and proportions, there is a monogram beneath his throne,[11] the throne itself is seldom furnished with a rung, and the beaded circle is very delicately rendered. On the reverse, the space above the lion remains blank, the lion itself carries its head in a slightly more erect position, the tail waves out behind instead of being curled between the legs, and, here too, the beaded circle is delicately rendered, i. e., without the heavy, comparatively widely-spaced dots so characteristic of the Babylonian lion staters during the reign of Seleucus.[12] Although there is neither anchor nor spear-head above the lion, the connection with the contemporary elephant-biga coins is maintained by the presence of the monogram composed of *mu* and *omega*. In the exergue of the reverse, appear various letters such as Γ, Δ, Μ, and, finally A. Of this last there are two varieties. One, No. 321 (PLATE XXIV, 16), is as the preceding pieces. On No. 322 (PLATE XXIV, 17) there is now an ANCHOR above the lion, and the lion itself suddenly faces to the r. In the writer's opinion, this coin may represent the transition to the succeeding type, No. 323, which is now no longer a "lion stater" but rather an "elephant stater" (PLATE XXIV, 18). For here a majestic elephant, striding to the right, with uplifted trunk, replaces the lion on the reverse. Above the elephant is seen the accustomed SPEAR-HEAD of Susa, while in the exergue is the

[11] Anything beneath the throne on the lion staters is of very rare occurrence at Babylon. The writer knows of but a single instance, the somewhat doubtfully Babylonian stater described in Chapter II, No. 269.

[12] It may be noted that the legs of the throne on the Susian staters are not so elaborate as is the case with all the Babylonian issues. The stater in the McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9565, Pl. 355, 11, which has a monogram beneath the throne and no symbol or letter above the lion, is in style very similar to the Susian staters, except that the lion's tail does not wave out behind, but is curled between his legs. Perhaps this coin, too, should have been classed with the Susian issues although its monogram does not appear anywhere in that series.

alpha of Nos. 321–322. On the obverse of the new coin we find a laureate Zeus head similar to that of the following elephant-biga coins of Group D. The thick, lumpy fabric, so characteristic of the lion series, continues unaltered.

What the reason for this sudden change in type may have been we cannot say, unless it was thereby proposed to supplant the old Persian types of the lion-staters with something more significant at this time, and with types more Seleucidian in character. That the change was not particularly successful or popular may be surmised from the comparative rarity of the extant elephant staters. This entire series of lion and elephant staters, Nos. 318–323, probably lasted for several years and may have been coined not only simultaneously with Group C, but also with Groups D and E as well, although not connected with the latter by any community of magistrates' marks. But these staters had now perhaps come to be something in the nature of a special coinage, a trade or temple[12a] coinage as it were, which was produced under the supervision of its own group of magistrates.

GROUPS D AND E

These groups represent the continuation of the "standard" coinage with the elephant-biga type (PLATE XXIV, 19–20; PLATE XXV, 1–2). But there now comes a minor variation, in that the accustomed SPEAR-HEAD is here replaced by the more orthodox Seleucid ANCHOR. At first, the flukes of the anchor are on the left, rather than on the right, as on all the Seleucian issues. The accompanying magistrate's marks are the BEE and the letter *mu*. This latter may possibly represent the initial of the same individual whose monogram (composed of *mu* and *omega*) characterizes the issues of Group C. The same BEE and M appear also on the tiny obol No. 325 (PLATE XXIV, 21) whose types, Athena's head and elephant's head, are copied from those of the drachm No. 317. The continued presence of the *biga* on No. 324 and the peculiar drachm types on No. 325 assure us that we are still dealing with coinages of Susa. The BEE has already appeared as an accessory symbol on certain staters, tetradrachms and drachms of the Alexander type (not known to Müller) attributable by their style and fabric to Susa. In the excavations of that site, later (perhaps Arsacid) bronze coins, bearing the same insect as their principal type, have also come to light. Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe has pointed out[13] the probable connection of the bee with the great goddess of Susa, Artemis-Nanaia; while to Tarn[13a], the bee suggests the presence at Susa of Greek colonists or *emigrès* from Ephesus itself. The recurrence of the insect on Nos. 324 and 325, for other reasons assignable to the Susian mint, need not therefore surprise us.

Group E, at present composed exclusively of tetradrachms (PLATE XXV, 1–4), is signed with the new monogram *iota* plus *sigma*, which is sometimes found plain, sometimes enclosed in a circle. The first of these coins, No. 326, still retains the accustomed *biga* type, but the anchor above now faces to the right. On the

[12a] See above, p. 106, note 14.
[13] *Mission*, etc., Vol. XXV, 1934, pp. 9–10.
[13a] *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 6.

remaining two coins, the mint authorities at Susa have finally succumbed to the influence exerted by the prolific issues of Seleucia and have replaced the *biga* by the *quadriga*. Henceforth, Susa's issues are hardly to be distinguished from those of its sister mints other than by style.

GROUP F

This group represents a direct continuation of the lion and elephant silver staters catalogued above at the end of Group C. As there is little break in style, and as Nos. 329–330 (PLATE XXV, 5–7) have no known counterparts in the elephant-biga coinage, the present issue, too, may have appeared simultaneously with the issues of Groups D and E. In No. 330, we have an elephant stater similar to No. 323. The SPEAR-HEAD is still above the elephant, but the letter *kappa* is in the exergue. Bearing the same symbol and letter, comes a gold stater, No. 329, which exists today only in a cast preserved in Munich, first published and discussed by Imhoof-Blumer.[14] On the obverse we see a fine, laureate head of Apollo, which may well have served as a model for later bronze issues of Seleucia, Series II, Group O, Nos. 105–109, PLATE XI, 6–8. On the reverse is a scene, as interesting as it is novel, depicting Apollo's divine sister Artemis, shooting an arrow from her bow whilst standing in a chariot drawn by two elephants. Artemis has not yet appeared among the coin types of Seleucus, and we may therefore well ask if her selection by the mint authorities of Susa may not be due to the great honor in which Anaïtis or Nanaia, the oriental counterpart of the Greek Artemis, was held in Susiana? Pliny tells us[15] that in Susa itself, on the citadel of the city, was a temple of Artemis, the most venerated shrine in all the districts round about. Certain it is that on the later Parthian and Elymite coins struck at Susa, Artemis is a favorite type.[16]

GROUPS G AND H

These two groups are, again, the continuation of the quadriga types found at the end of Group E. They are, however, also closely connected with the elephant staters of Group F by the presence of the Apollo-Artemis stater No. 331.[17] The two complicated monograms borne by this coin are again found on the Alexander type stater No. 332 (PLATE XXV, 9), as well as on the elephant-quadriga tetra-

[14] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXIII, 1901, pp. 3–4.

[15] *Hist. Nat.* VI, *Amnis Eulaeus . . . circuit arcem Susorum ac Dianae templum augustissimum illis gentibus.*

[16] Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Monnaies de l'Élymaïde*, in *Mission de Morgan*, Vol. VIII, pp. 18–22 of the brochure. Artemis-Nanaia, in fact, became the city-goddess of the Greeks in Susa. Cf. Tarn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 29, 464.

[17] The coin was first published by von Sallet in *Das k. Münzkabinet*, No. 400, and again discussed by Imhoof-Blumer in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, pp. 11–12. In both publications, the reverse type was described as an Apollo in a chariot drawn by elephants. That the figure is actually an Artemis was correctly noted by Imhoof-Blumer in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXIII, 1901, p. 3. The stater No. 329, as well as its companion piece No. 331, were assigned by the Swiss scholar, on insufficient grounds, to Babylon. The implication of their reverse type, and their close association with the coins studied in this chapter, prove them to have been coined at Susa instead.

drachm No. 333 (PLATE XXV, 10). These are further accompanied by an issue of large bronze coins, Nos. 334–5 (PLATE XXV, 11–12), of typically eastern fabric and style. Two specimens of this copper type come definitely from Persia, while the two examples belonging to the author turned up in collections of Seleucid and other eastern coins formed in Baghdad and Teheran. Its monograms, types, fabric and style all prove its association with Nos. 331–333. The proposed association of the smaller bronze coin No. 336 (PLATE XXV, 13–14)[18] with Nos. 334–335 is based solely on considerations of style and fabric, for unfortunately the monograms on the only two known specimens are obliterated. The reverse type of the elephant's head to r. is copied directly from the earlier drachm and obol, Nos. 317 and 325. It follows the type of the obol in adding the customary horns to the head.

The remaining coins of Group G comprise Alexandrine gold staters and quadriga tetradrachms and drachms (PLATE XXV, 15–17) bearing the monogram ⊗, in common with Nos. 331–335. As the entire issue is a varied one, possessing numerous divergent accessory monograms, it may have covered several years. To be noted is the fact that the near elephant on Nos. 331, 333 and 338, as well as the single elephant on Nos. 334 and 335, are all provided with a bell suspended from their necks. This same peculiarity is also sometimes to be found on similar issues of Seleucia, Series II, Groups K, L and N—coins that have been tentatively dated from about 290 to 286 B. C. As there are so many noticeable traits of similarity between the issues of Seleucia and Susa, the sudden and ephemeral appearance of the bell may have taken place on the issues of these two mints within a few years of each other. For Susa, we have described seven issues (Groups A to G) since the start of its Series III, *circa* 298–297 B. C. Some of these coinages may have been contemporaneous (i. e. Group F with Groups D or E ?); but certain others almost certainly lasted for two years, or more. Hence, we should not be far wrong in suggesting that Groups A to G may have covered a period of some thirteen or fourteen years. This would bring the commencement of Group G to about 284 or 283 B. C., a dating substantiated by the temporary presence of the bell adorning the elephants on coins of both mints.

Group G is further characterized by the placing of both title and name, in two lines, in the exergues on gold,[19] silver and bronze. This arrangement of the inscription is continued on the silver coins of Group H, and is also found on similar issues of the Bactrian mint.[20]

In addition to the silver tetradrachm, No. 340 (PLATE XXV, 18), Group H also comprises a bronze issue whose types, Medusa head in profile and butting bull,

[18] A similar coin may actually have been found in the excavations of Susa, although its description in *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XXV, 1934, p. 92, No. 5 gives the obverse type as being a head of Apollo. But as the descriptions of the coins found at Susa are not always accurate, due to their generally poor state of preservation, the piece in question may actually possess the Heracles head obverse of No. 336. The reverse tallies with our coin.

[19] The only exceptions are the Alexandrine staters, Nos. 332 and 337, which have their inscriptions arranged in the manner normal for this type of coin.

[20] See below, pp. 231–3.

have been copied from the similar issues of Seleucia—there Series II, Group Q (*circa* 284–283 B. C.), Nos. 117–119, PLATE XII, 1–3. At least two specimens of the Susian issue were found by the French excavators of that ancient site. One of these coins is so badly corroded that even its types are barely distinguishable. The other (PLATE XXV, 19), is somewhat better preserved and presents two monograms in a tolerably clear state, the upper one of which appears to be the 𐤀 element (without its surrounding circle) of the first monogram on Nos. 331–335. In style these bronze coins are not only poorer than their Seleucian prototypes, but they also differ slightly in fabric and general appearance. This same difference may be noted between them and the western issues of the same types,[21] as well as those of the mint at Ecbatana.[22] The presence in Group H of coins obviously copied from Seleucian issues of *circa* 284–283 B. C. necessarily brings that Group down towards the close of Seleucus I's reign.

ANTIOCHUS I 280–261 B. C.

SERIES I

342. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus, nude to waist, seated to l. upon a high-backed throne, his feet resting directly upon the exergual line. In l. field, 𐤀. Beneath throne, APX. Circle of dots.

α) Newell, gr. 16.90; β) Newell, gr. 16.37. PLATE XXVI, 1.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

343. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐤕. Beneath throne, APX.

Newell, gr. 16.79. PLATE XXVI, 2.

344. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐤄. Beneath throne, 𐤓, recut over APX (?).

Newell (Prinz Philipp von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha Coll., Hamburger Sale, Feb. 1928, No. 187), gr. 16.70. PLATE XXVI, 3.

Apparently about the time of the death of Seleucus I, the mint at Susa discarded the numerous and varied types with which it had been coining for over a decade, and reverted to the old Alexander type of earlier years. The reasons for this change were doubtless of a purely commercial nature. Perhaps money of such great diversity of types as had been produced in recent times had not been generally pleasing or acceptable to the more primitive peoples with whom the

[21] Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Pl. II, 14, and Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Pl. III, 9–11.
[22] See below, p. 180, Nos. 501–2, PLATE XXXVII, 14–15.

merchants of Susiana carried on a busy trade. Coins of Alexandrine type, however, were everywhere current, both at home and abroad.[23] As we shall see, once the lesson had been learned, the mint authorities refrained from any further change for many years to come. So anxious indeed were they to meet the wishes of their clients, that in this renewed issue they closely copied the Alexandrine coins which had been issued some years before. The latter, as we had occasion to point out,[24] were already of "old fashioned" style when they were coined. All the more strikingly anachronistic, then, is the present coinage (PLATE XXVI, 1–3) in its general appearance. The Heracles-head is small, somewhat crudely done and with very little detail of modelling. The lion's mane is rendered by small, leaf-like locks, arranged in three stiff rows. The pellets of the beaded circle are large, clumsy and widely spaced. On the reverse, Zeus is seated in the stiff attitude of former times, with his legs in the parallel position and the long hair behind his neck extending backwards in a kind of "pigtail."

That the present issue probably does not immediately follow the last coinage of the type at the end of Series II and the beginning of Series III, is made evident by a certain "break in continuity" of flans and details of design. The new coins certainly possess the archaic look of Nos. 304 (PLATE XXIII, 11) and 309–313 (PLATE XXIII, 18–19; PLATE XXIV, 1–5), but their flans are slightly larger; there is an exergual line on the reverse, and Zeus' feet rest directly upon it—rather than upon a footstool as formerly. The legs of the throne are also different in form, more nearly approaching that found on the Susian lion staters, Nos. 318–322. Only one side of the throne's back is visible, beneath the god's left arm, and does not appear above his shoulders as it did on the earlier issues. We are, however, still dealing with issues of Susa, as is confirmed by the recurrence of the monogram in the left field and by the fact that the magistrate's name, APX, continues to appear beneath the throne—just as it had on Nos. 310 to 313. Evidently, when the mint authorities decided, or were instructed to return to the old Alexander type, they at first employed for the production of the revived "Alexanders" the same officials who had previously been connected with their issue.

As on nearly all the silver issues of Susa, the edges of the blanks continue to be hammered. It is also important to note that the old practice of using loose dies likewise continues. Many of the specimens of the present issue reveal traces of having been overstruck on earlier coins, although unfortunately on none are the traces clear enough to render the types beneath distinguishable. Probably, when this revived issue of "Alexanders" was first started, the mint proceeded to call in for recoinage the old coins of less popular or now outmoded types, i. e. lion and elephant

[23] A recent, second century hoard from Persia (Noe, No. 809), principally composed of Seleucid (to the first reign of Demetrius II) and of Bactrian tetradrachms (to Heliocles), contained also some old Alexandrine tetradrachms and many pieces which are evidently local imitations of this type. The great Teheran Hoard of 1923 (Noe, No. 1081), buried at the close of Mithradates II's reign, also contained many coins of the Alexander type; while scores of similar pieces come from the excavations of Susa itself (*Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XXV, pp. 82, 89, 105–107 and *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XXIV—No. III, p. 128).

[24] See above, p. 121.

staters, as well as victory, biga and quadriga tetradrachms and drachms. This may account for the comparative rarity today of those particular varieties of the Susian mintage.

We cannot at present state categorically whether Nos. 342–344 were coined before or after the death of Seleucus in 280 B. C. As we shall see, the continued presence of the name of Seleucus on the coins actually means little at Susa. Unlike the mints of Seleucia on the Tigris, or Ecbatana and Bactra, the silver issues of Susa do not bear the name of Antiochus I, but continue in the name of his father.

SERIES II

345. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus, nude to waist, seated to l. on high-backed throne. In l. field, Ⓑ Beneath throne, 𐡑.

London (Whitehead Coll.), gr. 16.23. PLATE XXVI, 4.

346. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡑. Beneath throne, 𐡕.

α) Hague. PLATE XXVI, 5; β) Commerce, gr. 16.42; γ) Newell, gr. 16.93. PLATE XXVI, 6. α and γ are from the same obverse die.

347. STATER.
Head of Athena to r. wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Winged Nike to l. holding out wreath in her r. On l., 𐡑. On r., 𐡀.

Dupré Coll. Sale, April, 1867, No. 324.

348. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles r., from the same die as No. 346.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Type similar to No. 346. In l. field, 𐡀. Beneath throne, 𐡕.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. = Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2862, Pl. xxiv), gr. 16.64. PLATE XXVI, 7.

349. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡀. Beneath throne, 𐡓.

α) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 348), gr. 16.95. PLATE XXVI, 8; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 16.92; γ) Hague; δ) Newell, gr. 16.30. PLATE XXVI, 10; ε) Prinz Philipp von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha Coll., Hamburger Sale, Feb. 1928, No. 188, Pl. 3.
β and δ are from the same obverse die; γ and ε from another obverse die.

350. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡀. Beneath throne, 𐡄.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.97. PLATE XXVI, 11.

351. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ⊀ Beneath throne, 𐤀.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 20. In the description the monograms are erroneously interchanged, and the one in the field incorrectly rendered), gr. 16.70; β) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 767, Pl. 26), gr. 16.96. PLATE XXVI, 12.
α and β are from the same obverse die.

352. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, AB. Beneath throne, 𐤄.

Hague.

353. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a serpent.

ANTIOXOY on r., BAΣIΛEΩΣ on l. Winged Nike to l. as on No. 347. On l., 𐤄. On r., 𐤀.

Paris (Babelon, No. 103, Pl. iv, 2), gr. 8.55. PLATE XXVI, 14.

354. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 351.

Similar to No. 351 with ΣEΛEYKOY. On specimen β of this variety, the form of the throne changes, the back rises above the shoulders of Zeus, and there is a foot-stool beneath his feet. In l. field, 𐤄. Beneath throne, .

α) Berlin, gr. 16.03. PLATE XXVI, 13; β) Newell (Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1059, Pl. 37), gr. 16.86. PLATE XXVII, 1.

355. BRONZE UNIT

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r.

BAΣIΛEΩΣ on the r., ANTIOXOY on the l. Apollo seated to l. upon a rock, his r. hand holds arrow, his l. rests on the rock. In upper inner field, 𐤄. In outer r. field, 𐤀

α–β) Paris (*Mission en Susiane*, Vol. XX, 1928, p. 24, Nos. 10–11). PLATE XXVI, 15.

356. BRONZE UNIT.

Busts of the Dioscuri facing, wearing laureate *pili*. Bevelled edge.

BAΣIΛEΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY below. Elephant walking to l. Beneath the elephant is an uncertain object. No monograms visible.

α–δ) Paris (four specimens from the excavations at Susa, two of which are described in *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XX, p. 23, Nos. 5–6). PLATE XXVI, 9. These coins are probably from early in the reign of Antiochus I.

Closely connected by fabric, monograms and archaistic style with the Alexandrine issues of Series I, comes the present long coinage of similar pieces. That they all form a single category and come from a single mint was long ago recognized by

Six,[25] who was the first to assemble them and to discuss them as a whole. He correctly appreciated their eastern origin, but not possessing the material at present available, he assigned them to Babylon. Instead, they must be given to the sister mint of Susa as they are inseparable from the earlier issues of that mint, being closely connected by style, fabric and monograms with the Alexander-type coinages described on pp. 126–128. Although the tetradrachms still bear the name of Seleucus, they must none-the-less be assigned to the succeeding reign of Antiochus. In the first place, the entire coinage comprised in Series I and II is far too large to allow of being squeezed into the final years of Seleucus himself, following the many coinages which we have seen must cover the greater part of his reign over Susa. In the second place, the accompanying staters Nos. 347 and 353, bearing identical monograms with some of the silver, are inscribed with the name of Antiochus and so can be assigned to that ruler only. Definite proof of the correctness of our attribution is presented by the interesting little bronze coin from the excavations at Susa, No. 355, PLATE XXVI, 15, which bears two complicated monograms identical with those found on the stater No. 353 and the tetradrachm No. 354. This coin is not only inscribed with the name and title of Antiochus but bears the characteristic features of the first king of that name. Thus we learn that the old Alexander types, the general "archaic" aspect of the coins themselves, and the now anachronistic use of the name of Seleucus were deliberately continued from the preceding reign by the mint authorities of Susa, probably for reasons of commercial expediency.

There seems to be little need of discussing one by one the many monograms which occur in the course of this issue. The catalogue and the plates will amply suffice. Their perusal will reveal that while the monograms are numerous, certain distinctive ones carry over from coin to coin and so serve to bind the various individual pieces into an obvious whole. The actual order of the coins, as given here, is suggested by progression of style and the apparent sequence of the monograms themselves. At the very end of the issue (PLATE XXVII, 1) there comes suddenly a number of slight variations in the details of the reverse type. The throne's back becomes taller and its corners appear above the right and left shoulders of the seated Zeus. At the same time, a foot-stool is provided for the god's feet; while the throne-legs change from the ornamented, flat type to the rounded leg obviously turned on a lathe. These, and several other minor peculiarities, carry over onto the pieces which, because of an accompanying bronze coin (PLATE XXVII, 8), must be assigned to Antiochus II, continuing through his reign and so to the similar coins struck under Seleucus II.

From the excavations at Susa, come numerous bronze coins (No. 356, PLATE XXVI, 9) bearing the name of Antiochus and of a type not previously known, with the facing busts of the Dioscuri on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse. As these coins are of better style and execution than the portrait piece of Antiochus I (No. 355, PLATE XXVI, 15), it seems probable that they were coined earlier in

[25] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 223–224.

his reign. Unfortunately, the absence on the known specimens of any legible monogram precludes the exact placing of this type. Their invariable provenance, however, assures us that they must have been minted at Susa.

ANTIOCHUS II 261–246 B. C.

357. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. on throne, as before. A foot-stool is indicated. In l. field, 𐡄. Beneath the throne, 𐡍. Circle of dots.

α) Newell, gr. 16.83; β) Newell, gr. 16.78. PLATE XXVII, 2.

358. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with high back to throne, and foot-stool. In l. field, 𐡎. Beneath throne, 𐡍.

London, gr. 16.52. PLATE XXVII, 3.

359. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡅. Beneath throne, 𐡄.

α) Newell, gr. 16.92; β) Berlin, gr. 16.85. PLATE XXVII, 4.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

360. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡅. Beneath throne, 𐡌.

α) Newell, gr. 15.52; β) Berlin, gr. 16.46. PLATE XXVII, 5.
α and β are from the same obverse die, which is also the same die as was used for the following No. 361α, β and δ.

361. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡃. Beneath throne, 𐡐.

α) Hague (Six Coll.), gr. 16.73; β) Turin (Museo Archeologico. Lavy Coll., Vol. I, p. 239, No. 2529, Pl. xxxii), gr. 16.89; γ) Paris. PLATE XXVII, 6; δ) Athens (ex Sophikon Hoard. Cf. *Jour. int. d'arch. num.* Vol. X, 1907, p. 45, No. 918, Pl. i, 21); ε) London (Gardner, No. 13), gr. 17.01. PLATE XXVII, 7.

362. BRONZE UNIT.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Helmeted, draped figure of Athena Promachus to r., holds shield in l. and spear in upraised r. In l. field, 𐡐. In r. field, 𐡎 (probably intended for 𐡃).

Paris (Susa. *Mémoires de la mission, etc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 3, No. 3, Fig. 2. The left-hand monogram here mistakenly described as *un pentagramme*!), gr. 4.50. PLATE XXVII, 8.

363. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 361.

Similar to No. 361. In l. field, ⩓. Beneath throne, ⋀.

α) Newell (Gejou's Mesopotamian Hoard), gr. 16.86. PLATE XXVII, 10; β) Athens. PLATE XXVII, 9.
α and β are from the same obverse die, which is also the same die used for No. 364 below.

The issue of tetradrachms bearing the old Alexander types and the name of Seleucus continued unabated throughout the reign of Antiochus II. This fact had long been fully appreciated by the writer because the coins themselves eventually merge directly into the issues of Seleucus II, but really concrete proof was lacking until the bronze coin No. 362 turned up in the excavations at Susa. Its obverse bears an unmistakable portrait of Antiochus II. We find the same high cheek-bone and gently curved nose with its rounded tip so characteristic of this king's features,[26] in striking contrast to the much more elderly appearance of his father with his more pointed nose, long upper lip and the deep line about the mouth. The reverse of the coin bears the same two monograms as occur on the tetradrachm No. 361.

Defining the exact point in the lengthy issues of these posthumous Seleucus Alexanders at which Antiochus II succeeded to his father is not yet possible. For convenience' sake, the change in rulers has been set in the issue where the new-style reverse[27] becomes a fixture. But, in the nature of things, we cannot be certain that the Susian mint authorities consciously made things so delightfully simple for the benefit of future scholars interested in their coinages. All that we can confidently state, is that according to the portraits borne by accompanying copper coins, Nos. 353–355 were struck under Antiochus I, while Nos. 361–362 were coined under his son. The exact position of Nos. 357–358 in the series is also not quite certain. Here they have been arranged according to stylistic considerations, a somewhat uncertain and dangerous criterion when we have to do with copies of an earlier type. The monograms borne by these two coins, in the present tentative arrangement, break the sequence of the monogram ⋈, from its first appearance on Nos. 352–355 (certainly struck under Antiochus I) to its continued use on Nos. 359–362 (most of these certainly coined under Antiochus II). But any other location of Nos. 357–358 consistent with their style, would also result in the breaking of other monogram-matic sequences. Hence, because they possess the new style of reverse, they must be subsequent to No. 354, and the present arrangement is, for the moment, the most convenient one.

[26] Compare his portrait as we find it on western issues: Brit. Mus. Cat., Pl. vii, 2 and Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, Part II, Pl. 286, No. 7850. For his portrait on eastern issues, see the present work, PLATE LII, 17 and 21; PLATE LIII, 1–4.
[27] See above, p. 130.

SELEUCUS II 246–226/5 B. C.

364. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Same die as No. 363.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l. In l. field,  . Beneath throne,  .

α) Mr. E. S. G. Robinson. PLATE XXVII, 11; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.50. PLATE XXVII, 12.
α and β are from the same obverse die.

365. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r., wearing light beard. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, completely nude, standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. upon tall tripod. In l. inner field, . In outer r. field, .

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 16.92. PLATE XXVII, 13.

366. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., as on No. 364.

Same types and inscription as on No. 364. In l. field, . Beneath throne, .

α) Newell, gr. 15.59; β) Hague, PLATE XXVIII, 1; γ) Newell (Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1058, Pl. 37), gr. 16.80. PLATE XXVIII, 2.
α and β are from the same obverse die.

367. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, bearded head of Seleucus II to r. Circle of dots. Same die as No. 365.

Same types and inscription as on No. 365. In inner l. field, . In outer r. field, .

Newell, gr. 16.79. PLATE XXVIII, 3.

368. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., as on No. 366.

Same inscription and type as on No. 366. In l. field, . Beneath throne, .

London (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 428), gr. 16.85. PLATE XXVIII, 4.

369. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. as on the preceding coin.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, Beneath throne, .

Hague. Cf. Six, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVIII, 1898, p. 224.

370. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Diademed, draped bust of Seleucus II to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Winged and draped figure of Nike advancing to l., holds palm-branch in her lowered l., wreath in her outstretched r. In l. field, . In r. field, (or ?).

Newell (found in Persia), gr. 16.51. PLATE XXVIII, 5.

371. BRONZE TRIPLE.

Similar bust to r. as on the preceding. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Apollo, completely nude, standing to l., holds bow in his outstretched r. In outer l. field, ΠΡ.

α–β) Paris (Susa, *loc. cit.*, Vol. XX, p. 5, Pl. i, 2), gr. 10.70. PLATE XXVIII, 6.

372. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed head, slightly bearded, to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Artemis, in short *chiton*, advancing to r., holds bow in her l. hand and raising r. to secure an arrow from a quiver behind her shoulder. Uncertain animal at her feet.

Paris (Susa, *loc. cit.*, Vol. XX, p. 24, No. 12, Pl. i, 3), gr. 7.85. PLATE XXVIII, 7.

373. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed, youthful male bust three-quarters facing r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, nude, seated on *omphalos* to l., holds arrow in outstretched r. and rests l. upon bow. In outer r. field, indistinct monogram.

Paris (from Susa). PLATE XXVIII, 8.

374. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

Paris (from Susa). PLATE XXVIII, 9.

375. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Draped female figure to r., erecting a trophy. Above, ΠΡ. Circle of dots.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 98 *bis*, Pl. iii, 14), gr. 3.40; β–γ) Paris (from Susa. Cf. *loc. cit.*, Vol. XX, p. 24, No. 13). PLATE XXVIII, 10–11; δ) London, gr. 2.79.

376. BRONZE UNIT.

Heads of Apollo and Artemis accolate to r. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Winged victory advancing to l., holding in her r. hand a wreath above the king's name.

α–β) Paris (Susa. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. XXV, p. 21, No. 9, Fig. 1), gr. 3.10. PLATE XXVIII, 12.

When we reach the posthumous issues of the Alexander type catalogued under Nos. 364 and 366, we are assured of their true date by the fact that they are accompanied by tetradrachms (Nos. 365 and 367) which are provided with the same monograms and with the well-known portrait and reverse type of Seleucus II. No. 364 is also connected with the last of the preceding Alexandrine tetradrachms

(No. 363) by an identical obverse die and the continued presence beneath the throne of the magistrate's monogram, ⁂. The latter piece, for all that we can yet tell, may likewise have been coined under Seleucus II. On Nos. 367–369 appears for the first time a monogram, comprising the letters ΔPK, which for some time to come is destined to characterize the issues[28] of the Susa Mint.

The two tetradrachms, Nos. 365 (PLATE XXVII, 13) and 367 (PLATE XXVIII, 3), bearing the personal types of Seleucus II, are interesting from the fact that on them the king is depicted as wearing a close-cropped beard. Other silver and bronze coins of the king are known[29] on which his beard is long and pointed. These latter coins have been assigned[30] to the period following his campaign against the Parthians, in the course of which he is supposed by some historians to have been captured by the enemy. During his sojourn among the Parthians, Seleucus may well have followed their usual custom of growing a beard or, as Eckhel supposes, he did so out of grief and shame at his discomfiture. But long ago Visconti proved[31] that Seleucus himself was never captured by the Parthians, and Babelon[32] rightly points out that on his coins Seleucus II is depicted sometimes clean-shaven, sometimes with 'side burns', sometimes lightly, sometimes heavily bearded. He believes that in this the coins merely follow the gradually changing appearance of the king. That Seleucus at some period in his reign actually did wear a beard, however, is confirmed by Polybius II, 71, 4 who there gives him the epithet *Pogon*, i. e., bearded. We thus lose a definite date *post quem* for the coins on which Seleucus appears with a full beard, although they may, on Babelon's assumption, be assigned to the last half of his reign. When, however, we come to study the issues of Ecbatana we shall find a heavily bearded portrait of Seleucus II,[33] and one, furthermore, which is definitely connected with the Parthian campaign.

To Seleucus II have also been assigned the two tetradrachms of Alexandrine types, Nos. 368 and 369, because they continue to display the now characteristic monogram ⁂. Their types may still be anachronistic, but no longer are their inscriptions so, for is not the name of the ruling king now once more Seleucus? No accompanying tetradrachms bearing Seleucus II's own types have as yet come to light. The opening up of Persia, and the many excavations being carried on there at the present time, may some day fill this lacuna.

Associated with the silver coins, Nos. 366–369, by similar style and by the now customary monogram ⁂, comes a series of bronze coins in several denominations. On the obverses of the two larger pieces, we find a portrait bust of Seleucus which has the peculiarity, unusual for this early period, of being draped. It is probable

[28] This monogram must be clearly distinguished from a very similar but not quite identical form, ⁂, which marks certain gold and silver issues of Antiochus I and II coined in some city of southern Asia Minor.

[29] For instance, British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Plate vi, Nos. 14–16.

[30] Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, Vol. III, p. 218, followed in Head's *Historia Numorum*, 1st ed., p. 639.

[31] *Iconographie grecque*, Vol. II, p. 298–299, footnote.

[32] *Loc. cit.*, Introd., p. lxv.

[33] See below, p. 200, Nos. 563–5, PLATE XLI, 8–12.

that on these coins, too, Seleucus wears a beard, but their corroded state leaves this uncertain. On the largest denomination (No. 370, PLATE XXVIII, 5), the reverse type of victory holding a wreath and palm suggests that the coin may have been struck in celebration of the successful campaign of Seleucus against Ptolemy III, when he ousted the latter's forces from Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Closely connected with No. 370 by the same obverse type, as well as by identical style and fabric, come the succeeding bronzes Nos. 371 and 372 (PLATE XXVIII, 6–7), both found in the ruins of Susa. The reverse type of the latter piece, Artemis advancing r., holding her bow in her left, and with her right drawing an arrow from her quiver, is particularly associated with Susa.[34]

Less certainly Susian are Nos. 373–376. Of these, Nos. 373–374 (PLATE XXVIII, 8–9) are known only from the two specimens found at Susa and so may presumably have been coined there. To give an acceptable name to the facing head on the obverse is not easy. Probably it is a royal portrait, as a diadem seems to be visible on the head itself, while the flying ends can be discerned just above each shoulder. If we could be certain that the customary bull's horns were present, we might suppose the head to be that of the deified Seleucus, founder of the line. Otherwise, it might be the young Seleucus II. A facing head is very rarely seen at Susa before the time of Antiochus IV,[35] and so one's first thought is that these coins must have been struck at Seleucia on the Tigris where the frontal aspect was commonly used at this particular period. On the other hand, no similar coins are as yet known to have turned up at Seleucia, while we do possess specimens actually found at Susa. Hence a Susian origin for them is, at least tentatively, proposed here. Throughout our study of the Susian issues, it must have become evident by now how frequently this mint turned to the coinages of Seleucia on the Tigris for inspiration. For that reason it is not so surprising to find an instance of a facing head at Susa, as it is not to find that mode of expression more often employed there in imitation of the Seleucian issues. The slightly less able artists of the Susian mint may not have felt quite so confident in the difficult art of successfully producing a pleasing head seen *en face*, although it must be admitted that if Nos. 373–374 are really of Susa, then their die-cutters were quite successful in this particular instance.

Of No. 375 (PLATE XXVIII, 10–11), we possess two specimens recorded from Susa. Other examples of the coin are in the London and Paris collections, but their provenance is unknown. The rather crude style of the reverse die is not unlike that found on other issues of the Susa mint. The type of a female figure erecting a trophy is based on silver issues of Persepolis for Seleucus I (see PLATE XXXII) and bronze coins of Seleucia on the Tigris struck under Antiochus I (PLATE XIV, 13; XV, 3–7, 10–11). On these prototypes, however, the figure is plainly a winged Nike, who on the present coins is certainly wingless.

No. 376, PLATE XXVIII, 12, with the accolate heads of Apollo and Artemis,

[34] See above, pp. 115 and 124, and also the remarks of Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe in *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XX, p. 24.

[35] Cf. *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 5, No. 11, Fig. 4, as well as others described in that work.

was also found at Susa and was apparently not known previously. It is interesting to note that Apollo and Artemis, the Twins, were the gods of the Greek settlers at Susa and an inscription, dated 183 B. C. and addressed to them, has been discovered in the ruins of the city.[35a] The provenance of our coin, its style and fabric, the presence of Artemis, the close similarity of the reverse type to that of No. 370 (PLATE XXVIII, 5)—all point to Susa as the probable mint.

SELEUCUS III 226/5–223/2 B. C.

377. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. holding eagle and sceptre. In l. field, 𐡀. Beneath throne, 𐡀.

α) Istanbul (*Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 37, No. 334. "Pot Hoard"), gr. 16.36. PLATE XXVIII, 13; β) Vienna, gr. 16.85. PLATE XXVIII, 14.

378. BRONZE UNIT.
Head of Athena to r. wearing crested Corinthian helmet. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Draped figure of Apollo, three-quarters facing, advancing to r. He holds a lyre in his l. arm, a plectrum in his lowered r. hand.

α) Paris (Susa, *loc. cit.*, Vol. XX, p. 25, No. 15). PLATE XXVIII, 15; β) Paris (*ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 108, No. 25, Pl. viii, 25), gr. 5.337. PLATE XXVIII, 16; γ–δ) Paris (from Susa).

The assignment of the posthumous Alexandrine tetradrachm No. 377 (PLATE XXVIII, 13–14) to the reign of Seleucus III is, perhaps, not quite certain, although it is made highly probable by the following observation. The tetradrachm is closely connected with the first issues of Antiochus III by community of monograms and by the re-use of an obverse die (cf. PLATE XXIX, 1). Furthermore, it still bears the name of Seleucus, while the succeeding issue of Antiochus (No. 379) is now inscribed with the latter's name. No accompanying tetradrachms with Seleucus III's own types have as yet turned up.

The bronze coin No. 378, PLATE XXVIII, 15–16, has been assigned to the third, rather than to the fourth, Seleucus because of its reverse type. The draped figure of Apollo, three-quarters facing to right, and holding his lyre in the left arm and the *plectrum* in his lowered right hand, occurs also on the bronze coins certainly of Seleucus III struck at Seleucia on the Tigris.[36] That the present coins belong to Susa is rendered practically certain by their style and fabric, and by the fact that the four known specimens have been found in the excavations of that site.

[35a] Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 29, where the references are given in footnote 6.
[36] Nos. 218–219, PLATE XVII, 18–19.

ANTIOCHUS III 223/2–187 B. C.

SERIES I, GROUP A, *c.* 223–220 B. C.

379. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles. Same die as that used for No. 377β.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. In l. field, 𐡀. Beneath throne, 𐡀. Circle of dots.

Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 835, Pl. 28), gr. 16.23. PLATE XXIX, 1.

380. TETRADRACHM.
Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. The diadem-ends flutter out behind. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo, nude except for drapery over r. thigh, seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer l. field, 𐡀. In outer r. field, 𐡀. Circle of dots.

α) Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 663, Pl. xix, gr. 16.90; β) Newell, gr. 17.00. PLATE XXIX, 3; γ) Newell, gr. 16.87. PLATE XXIX, 2.

381. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the monograms 𐡀 and 𐡀 are in the outer l. field, one above the other. Circle of dots.

Newell, gr. 16.98. PLATE XXIX, 4.

382. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.
Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., adorned with a horn rising upwards, and pointing forwards, from the diadem just in front of the ear. The diadem-ends flutter out behind. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Helmeted and draped figure of Athena seated to l. With her outstretched r. she crowns the king's name, her l. holds a spear and rests upon her shield. In outer l. field, 𐡀. In inner l. field, 𐡀. Circle of dots.

Paris (Susa. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 89–90, No. 4, Pl. iv, 4), gr. 14.50. PLATE XXIX, 5.

383. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same two monograms.

α–β) Paris (Susa. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. XX, p. 55, Pl. ii, 2), gr. 4.23. PLATE XXIX, 6.

GROUP B, *c.* 220–212 B. C.

384. STATER.
Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., as on Nos. 380–1.

Inscription and seated Apollo as on Nos. 380–1. In outer l. field, uncertain monogram. In outer r. field, 𐡀.

Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 951, Pl. 34), gr. 8.57. PLATE XXIX, 7.

385. TETRADRACHM.
Similar head to r., wearing light whisker. Circle of dots.

Same types and inscription as on the preceding. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible].

Newell (Naville XII Sale, Oct. 1926, No. 1963), gr. 16.39. PLATE XXIX, 8.

386. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible].

α) Newell, gr. 17.09. PLATE XXIX, 9; β) Vienna, gr. 16.95.
α and β are from the same pair of dies.

387. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible].

Newell, gr. 16.52. PLATE XXIX, 10.

388. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding, but the diadem-ends hang straight.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible].

Newell, gr. 16.89. PLATE XXIX, 11.

389. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Youthful head of Antiochus III to r., wearing diadem and horn as on Nos. 382–383. Fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Winged and draped Nike advancing l. With her r. she crowns the king's name; in her l. she holds long palm branch. In inner l. field, [illegible] above inverted ANCHOR. In outer l. field, [illegible] (?).

Paris (Susa. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. XXV, p. 3, No. 2, Fig. 1), gr. 8.50. PLATE XXIX, 12.

390. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Apollo, nude, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, holds arrow in r. and rests l. upon bow. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible].

α–β) Paris (from Susa). PLATE XXIX, 13.

391. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., with fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Helmeted, draped Athena standing to l., rests r. on tall spear, l. upon her hip. Her shield leans against her r. leg. In outer l. field, [illegible]. In outer r. field, [illegible] (?). Circle of dots.

Paris (from Susa), PLATE XXIX, 14.

GROUP A, *c.* 223–220 B. C.

The three coins Nos. 379–381 (PLATE XXIX, 1–4), carry on the issue of No. 377 into the new reign, employing both the old Alexander types and the less anachronistic royal ones. The coins continue to be supervised by the same two magistrates as under Seleucus III, and at least one old obverse die of No. 377 is still used in the production of No. 379. The new coins, however, bear the name of Antiochus throughout, while Nos. 380–381 display his portrait and the usual seated Apollo. The issue probably lasted from the commencement of Antiochus III's reign until after the defeat of Molon and the final suppression of his rebellion.

We need hardly expect to find at Susa, as is the case at Seleucia and Ecbatana, an issue of coin brought out in Molon's name. Diogenes, the Seleucid governor of Susiana, had remained loyal to his young master and eventually joined the army of Xenoetas to oppose Molon's advance. Polybius states[37] that after Molon's great victory over the Seleucid army and his subsequent occupation of Seleucia, Diogenes escaped to Susa. Molon advanced against that city, and while he succeeded in occupying the town itself, was unable to carry the citadel. There, Diogenes defied the invaders and sustained a lengthy siege until eventually relieved by the triumphant Antiochus. For his loyalty, Diogenes was rewarded with the command over the larger and more opulent satrapy of Media, while a certain Apollodorus succeeded him in the governorship of Susiana. As in all probability the mint itself was located in the citadel which Molon was never able to secure, no coins could have been struck there with his name and types. In fact, no coins of the usurper's are known to exist which by style, fabric or monograms could be assigned to Susa—and none have been found in the excavations of that city.[38]

[37] V, 48, 13–15.

[38] In the *Revue Numismatique*, 4th Ser., Vol. XXXVIII, 1935, pp. 158–60, Dr. J.-M. Unvala suggests the assignment of certain hitherto unknown bronze coins bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΙΟΥ to Molon (one type was recently published by Dr. P. Lederer in *Berliner Münzblätter*, Vol. LII, Jan. 1932, p. 396, No. 10, Pl. 124, 13, but erroneously attributed to Tigranes of Armenia). Entirely aside from the unconvincing, not to say astonishing, reasons given for supposing that Molon ever assumed the name of Tigraios and employed it on coins struck at Susa, while his other mints retained the name of Molon, considerations of style militate against such an attribution. To suppose, further, that in the few months (possibly only weeks) at Molon's disposal, when his troops precariously held only a portion of Susa, no less than seven different types of coins would, or conceivably could, have been struck in his name, borders on the ridiculous. Finally, a brief consideration of the hoard in which these unknown coins of Tigraios turned up, renders Dr. Unvala's proposal impossible. The hoard comprised one hundred and eighty-six bronze coins, of which more than one half were of Mithradates I of Parthia, sixty of Tigraios, one of Kamnaskires, one of Seleucus I and sixteen of Antiochus III. These Seleucid attributions are here accepted with some misgivings, in view of Dr. Unvala's almost uncanny ability to misinterpret Greek coin types and to make impossible attributions. With regard to the Parthian coins, Dr. Unvala is presumably more familiar; and many such pieces of Mithradates I had been previously found at Susa and correctly attributed by Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe. The hoard must therefore have been buried after about the middle of the second century B. C., when Mithradates had secured Susiana. If then the coins of Tigraios should be attributed to Molon, there would result an utterly impossible gap in the contents of the hoard. It is unbelievable that such a hoard would contain no less than sixty pieces of Molon (!) from about 221 B. C., a few coins of Antiochus III, and then absolutely nothing until the reign of Mithradates —i. e. no coins of Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV and V, Demetrius I, Alexander I. The only reasonable supposition is that Tigraios was some successful rebel against the Seleucid power after the time of Demetrius I, and continued to reign until the time when Mithradates I seized Susiana. Only some such supposition would render the contents of the hoard at all intelligible. Also, cf. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 485.

Associated by their monograms with the tetradrachms of Group A, appears a splendid issue of bronze coins in at least two denominations (Nos. 382–383, PLATE XXIX, 5–6). On their obverses we see a still youthful portrait of Antiochus. A diadem with fluttering ends—as on the silver—adorns his brow, while the horn of majesty and power rises above his temples. Not since the victory coins of Seleucus I,[39] or the special victory coinage in bronze of Seleucus II,[40] has this oriental symbolism been used on our coins. The accompanying reverse type, too, proclaims the triumph of Antiochus over the usurper. An armed Athena, seated as if resting after the conflict, places the wreath of victory above the king's name before her. This constitutes the common reverse type of the coinages of Lysimachus and of the Pergamene kings. But, as Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe has justly remarked,[41] this is the first instance of its appearance on a Seleucid coin. Undoubtedly, our Susian engraver got his inspiration from, and proceeded to copy, some coin of Lysimachus, a currency that must have been quite common in Mesopotamia and Persia, as numerous hoards testify.[42] The presence in Group A of Nos. 382–383, corresponding, as these coins apparently do, to the victory types used by Antiochus at Seleucia and Ecbatana to celebrate his conquest of Molon, brings the final phases of the Group A coinage down to a period immediately following the fall of the rebel.

GROUP B, *c.* 220–212 B. C.

When peace had once more settled over the east, the former coinage was continued, supervised as before by the official 𐡀. The latter now has some new assistants, as seen by the various monograms accompanying his on Nos. 385–391 (PLATE XXIX, 8–14). The issue includes the rare gold stater No. 384, PLATE XXIX, 7, as yet known in one example only. On the analogy of other Seleucid gold issues, this piece, too, may have been coined in commemoration of the triumph of the legitimate king over a rebel and would-be usurper. The types of some of the accompanying bronze coins continue to celebrate the victory. On No. 389, PLATE XXIX, 12, we again find the curious horned portrait of Antiochus III, while the standing Nike of the reverse closely resembles the similar victory types being used at this very period in the sister mints of Seleucia and Ecbatana.[43]

The portrait of Antiochus III, which was adopted from the outset by the mint of Susa, greatly resembles the contemporaneous one employed at Seleucia on the Tigris for its issues of Series I and II,[44] *c.* 223–215 B. C. We find recurring at Susa the same heavy locks of hair, the same broad diadem with its narrow and wildly fluttering ends, the same somewhat *retroussé* nose, and the same faint indications of

[39] See below, Nos. 413–427, PLATE XXXII.

[40] See above, Nos. 202–203, PLATE XVII, 2.

[41] *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse; Mission en Susiane*, Vol. XXV, p. 89.

[42] Cf. Noe, *Bibliography*, etc., Nos. 116, 487, 488, 680, 681, 711, 809, 1023, 1086, 1147, etc. In passing, it is interesting to note that the obverse type of Lysimachus' coinages was later also copied by a Susian die-cutter. Cf. *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XX, Pl. i, 12; and also our PLATE XXXI, 18.

[43] Compare PLATE XVIII, 15–16; PLATE XLII, 15–20.

[44] Compare PLATE XVIII, 1–3, 11–14; PLATE XIX, 1–6.

side-whiskers. This type of portrait appears at the two sister mints of Seleucia and Susa both before and after the invasion of Molon. At Susa, the number of varieties known for the period immediately following the fall of the usurper, and the presence among them of the gold stater No. 384, which in all probability commemorates Antiochus' victory, all suggest that Series I, Group B, continued for some seven or eight years until about 212 B. C. The final issue of the tetradrachms (No. 388, PLATE XXIX, 11), definitely united to its immediate predecessors by the continued presence of the characteristic monogram 𐡀, introduces a new type of portrait. Here the diadem-ends no longer flutter but hang stiffly; the hair is now arranged in small, thick locks; the nose is no longer slightly *retroussé* but straight, pointed, and with a faint hump placed on a level with the eye. The resemblance to the traditional portrait of Antiochus III is not strongly marked.

SERIES II, *c.* 212–204 B. C.

GROUP A

392. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. upon *omphalos*, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. upon bow. In outer l. field, 𐡀 or 𐡁.

A1 —*P1.* Newell, ↑, gr. 17.07. PLATE XXX, 1.
P2. Luneau Coll., Platt Sale, March 1922, No. 726, Pl. xv.
P3. Newell (= Prowe Coll., Egger Sale XLVI, May 1914, No. 2440, Pl. xxxix), ↑, gr. 17.17. PLATE XXIX, 15.
P4. α) Cahn Sale 65, Oct. 1929, No. 256, Pl. 8; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 970, Pl. 34 (= *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, Pl. ix, 10), gr. 17.02.

GROUP B

393. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ROSE. In outer r. field, 𐡂.

A2 —*P5.* Newell, ↑, gr. 17.25. PLATE XXX, 2.
A3 —*P6.* Turin, Museo Archeologico. Fabretti, Vol. I, 1883, p. 330. No. 4587, gr. 17.17. PLATE XXX, 3.
P7. Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1441, Pl. 51, gr. 17.

394. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ROSE. In outer r. field, 𐡃.

A2 —*P8.* Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 958, Pl. 34, gr. 17.12.
P9. Newell, ↑, gr. 16.26. PLATE XXX, 4.
A3 —*P10.* Cahn Sale 84, Nov. 1933, No. 407, Pl. 14, gr. 17.10.
P11. Newell (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 957, Pl. 34), ↑, gr. 17.13. PLATE XXX, 5.
A4 —*P12.* Berlin, gr. 17.09.
P13. α) Berlin, gr. 17.17. PLATE XXX, 6; β) Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 664, Pl. xix, gr. 16.15.

395. TETRADRACHM.
Same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding but with AT recut over a preceding BA.

A3 —*P14.* Newell (= Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 664, Pl. xviii), ↑, gr. 16.87. PLATE XXX, 7.

396. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ROSE. In outer r. field, AT.

A3 —*P15.* New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 783, Pl. xix), ↑, gr. 16.80.
A4 —*P16.* Newell, ↑, gr. 16.82. PLATE XXX, 8.
A5 —*P17.* α) Berlin, gr. 17.145; β) Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1068, Pl. 37 (= Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2444, Pl. lxi), gr. 17.20; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1442, Pl. 51, gr. 16.8.
P18. α) Naville Sale XII, No. 1956, Pl. 56, gr. 17.10; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.82. PLATE XXX, 9.
P19. Commerce, gr. 17.20.
A6 —*P20.* Berlin, gr. 17.13. PLATE XXX, 10.

397. STATER.
Similar to the preceding.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ANTIOXOY above elephant advancing to r. In front, Y. In the exergue, AT.

Paris (Babelon, p. 52, No. 393, Pl. x, 1), gr. 8.60. PLATE XXX, 11.

398. TETRADRACHM.
From the die A6 of No. 396.

Same inscription and types as on Nos. 393–396. In outer l. field, Y. In outer r. field, AT.

A6 —*P21.* Newell, ↑, gr. 17.05. PLATE XXX, 12.

399. TETRADRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, Y. In outer r. field, ΔI.

A6 —*P22.* London, ↖, gr. 17.20. PLATE XXXI, 1.

400. BRONZE QUADRUPLE (?).
Laureate head to r., similar in style to the preceding. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the l., ANTIOXOY on the r. Artemis, wearing short *chiton* and *endromides*, standing l., rests l. upon an inverted spear, and with her outstretched r. places a wreath upon the king's name. In outer l. field, Y.

α) London (Gardner, p. 28, No. 54, Pl. ix, 10); β) Paris (Babelon, No. 442, Pl. x, 20), gr. 11.80; γ) American Numismatic Society, gr. 11.83. PLATE XXXI, 7.

400A. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding (?).

Similar to the preceding.

Paris (*Mémoires*, etc., Vol. XX, p. 25, No. 21).

401. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head similar to Nos. 393–396. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Seated Apollo as on Nos. 393–396. In outer l. field, ROSE. In outer r. field, .

A7 —*P23*. Berlin, gr. 17.31. PLATE XXXI, 2.
P24. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 956, Pl. 34, gr. 17.04.
P25. Cons. Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4051, Pl. lii, gr. 17.10.

402. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ROSE. In outer r. field, .

A8 —*P26*. α) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2445, Pl. lxi, gr. 17.; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.22. PLATE XXXI, 3.
P27. Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 665, Pl. xix, gr. 17.02.
P28. Ciani, *Vente aux prix marqués*, Pl. viii, No. 150.
A9 —*P29*. Newell, ↑, gr. 17.20. PLATE XXXI, 4.

403. TETRADRACHM.

From obverse die A9. Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field, .

A9 —*P30*. London. PLATE XXXI, 5.

404. TETRADRACHM.

Somewhat similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, ROSE. In outer r. field,  .

A10—*P31*. Newell, ↑, gr. 17.15. PLATE XXXI, 6.

GROUP A

It must be admitted that the issues here assembled under the heading of Series II can only be considered as *probably* belonging to the mint of Susa. For with this issue a complete change takes place in the 'college' of mint officials, and neither magistrate's monograms nor obverse dies, connected with previous and certain Susian coinages, are to be found. There is a distinct improvement in the die-cutting and, greatest innovation of all, we find that a system of fixed or adjusted dies has been introduced to replace the hitherto general employment of loose dies only. A noticeable similarity to the final issues of Series I exists, however, in the general appearance and *fabric* of the silver and bronze coins which go to make up Series II, and therefore the writer feels but little doubt that this latter issue must also be assigned to Susa.

The coins of Group A (No. 392, PLATE XXIX, 15; PLATE XXX, 1) are struck from a single obverse die and bear the monogram of one magistrate only, variously rendered  or . The dies are adjusted ↑↑. The portrait of Antiochus is again very different from that which had characterized the earlier issues of both Seleucia and Susa—but, significantly enough, it connects directly with the final type (No. 388, PLATE XXIX, 11) of Series I, which, as we have already noted, is at variance with its predecessors. Compared with the head appearing on No. 388, the

new portrait is artistically far superior in execution, although as a "speaking likeness" of Antiochus III it appears to leave much to be desired. Like No. 388, the diadem-ends again hang straight, but are now very broad and not at all "stringy." The hair is arranged in smoothly-waving locks above the diadem; in short, thick ones below. The nose is straight, with a suggestion of pointedness which becomes even more accentuated in the succeeding issue.

GROUP B

Exactly similar in style and fabric to A are the issues of Group B. The various varieties, as well as the individual coins, of Group B are closely connected by a continuous series of die-combinations as shown in the body of the catalogue. The entire coinage is characterized by the symbol ROSE which appears in the outer left-hand field, accompanied by changing monograms in the outer right-hand field. In four instances (Nos. 397, 398, 399, 403), the rose is replaced by ⊀, which may thus be a monogram comprising the first letters of the name of that magistrate whose signet or emblem was the rose. On the majority of the known specimens, this flower is practically identical in form with the well-known badge of Rhodes, on whose issues it constituted the reverse type for upwards of four centuries. We are therefore probably correct in designating our symbol as a "rose"—although it is most tempting to recognize in the flower an attempt of the Susian die-cutter to reproduce a *lily*. For, according to Stepanus Byzantinus,[45] the city of Susa took its name from the lilies which covered the fields of the Susian district and, it is also stated, that the native Persian word *susan* means a lily. In general form, however, the symbol on our coins is more or less identical with the flower which appears on certain bronze coins of John Hyrcanus and of Alexander Jannaeus,[46] where one might well have expected a lily, rather than a rose. While de Saulcy[47] describes this flower as *une fleur de liliacée*, Madden[48] and Hill[49] do not commit themselves to an exact identification, contenting themselves by using the innocuous term "flower"—though Hill, in one instance, follows this with the suggestive: "(lily ?)."

On our coins the rose (or lily?) symbol is accompanied, as stated above, by seven successive monograms, whose true sequence is established by a study of the obverse dies, the varying degrees of wear they exhibit, and the recutting of certain of the monograms themselves. One of these monograms has the form ⍋ (Nos.

[45] Cf. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Vol. II, p. 1049, where are also given other references to various passages in classical authors covering the same subject.

[46] British Museum Catalogue, *Palestine*, Pl. XXI, Nos. 6–8, 11–16.

[47] De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, Paris, 1854, pp. 88–9, actually describes the flower, on these coins of Alexander Jannaeus as *une fleur de liliacée* and goes on to speak of it as *une fleur qui constitue un type essentiellement judaïque*. The predilection shown on their coins by the Jews for lilies is explained by Cavedoni, *Numismatica biblica*, by reference to the passage in Hosea XIV, 5: I will be as a dew unto Israel, he shall blossom as the lily. Certain it is that the only known Seleucid coins struck at Jerusalem (de Saulcy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 100–102, Pl. III, 13, 14; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 76; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XXII, 1) bear an unmistakable lily as their obverse type.

[48] *Coins of the Jews*, p. 85.

[49] British Museum Catalogue, *Palestine*, p. 195, Nos. 48–51; pp. 198–9, Nos. 1–10.

395–398, PLATE XXX, 7–12). During the incumbency of this magistrate the ROSE disappears and is replaced by the monogram ⚜ (Nos. 397–398, PLATE XXX, 11–12). Under a following magistrate, ⚜, the ROSE reappears (No. 401, PLATE XXXI, 2), and again alternates with the monogram ⚜ under ⚜ (Nos. 402–403, PLATE XXXI, 3–5). After one more issue (No. 404), both ROSE and ⚜ finally disappear from the coinage.

The monogram ⚜ frequently occurs on the coin issues of Antioch, commencing with the reign of Seleucus II.[50] It continues on the issues of Seleucus III[51] and is particularly frequent on the early issues (Series I, *c.* 223–206 B. C.) of Antiochus III.[52] It was entirely because of this apparent localization in Antioch of ⚜ that the writer had assigned[53] our gold stater No. 397 to that particular mint, although in style it did not fit very happily among the other issues of Antioch. Since that time, its true companion piece, No. 398 (PLATE XXX, 12), has appeared and demonstrates by its obverse die, style and fabric, that the gold coin belongs not to Antioch but to the mint which issued Nos. 393 to 403. Certainly this latter group cannot, because of its peculiar style and fabric, be made to fit into the Antiochene series. It belongs to another, and evidently a more eastern mint. The use of the monogram ⚜ shows that there must have been some sort of contact between the two mints. In the first place, there exists an unpublished variety[54] of the usual tetradrachms of Seleucus III, of typical Antiochene style and fabric, bearing the monograms ⚜, ⚜ and having, in addition, as symbol a flower which from its form might be described as either a rose or a lily. This close connection of ⚜ and a rose-like flower is significant, in view of the similar connection of the two in the present issue. On the earliest issues of Antiochus III at Antioch (*circa* 223–210 B. C.) ⚜ continues to mark the coins. Then the same monogram, *alternating with a rose* appears on the group of coins assigned to the mint of Susa. One of the accompanying magistrates (Nos. 402–403) uses a monogram which is obviously composed of the letters ACK. This particular group of coins seems to come to an end about 205 B. C. At Antioch, towards the close of Series II of that mint, dated by the writer[55] to the years *c.* 206–200 B. C., the magistrate ⚜ reappears.[56] In the succeeding Antiochene Series III, *c.* 200–187 B. C., we again find the rose symbol[57] as well as some tetradrachms signed ACK or AΣK.[58] These various facts clearly suggest that when the issues of Series I, Group B at Susa came to an end, a certain Antiochene mint official whose signature was the rose and/or ⚜ was temporarily transferred to Susa. He introduced for the first time to the Susian mint a fixed or adjusted die system—such as had for many years been the regular practice at

[50] Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, The American Journal of Numismatics, Vol. LI, 1918, p. 3, No. 1.
[51] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 4–5, Nos. 3 and 5.
[52] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 6–7, Nos. 7–8, 10–11, 13–15.
[53] *Loc. cit.*, p. 8, No. 16.
[54] Two specimens in the author's collection.
[55] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 8–11.
[56] *Loc. cit.*, p. 9, Nos. 20–21.
[57] *Loc. cit.*, p. 11, No. 25.
[58] *Loc. cit.*, p. 12, Nos. 27–28.

Antioch. Later, he returned to Antioch, possibly taking with him the magistrate ACK who had been one of his assistants at his Persian post. Before doing so, however, ⚜ seems to have presided temporarily at yet another mint (in northern Mesopotamia ?) of which a coin bearing his characteristic monogram was found at Sardes and was published by Mr. H. W. Bell, *Sardis*, Vol. XI, p. 42, No. 397, Pl. I. This issue probably inaugurated a long series of coinages, some of which bear the signatures AΣ or AC. But these issues lie outside the scope of the present work and will be discussed at some future time.

The sudden appearance of the elephant as a type on the gold stater No. 397 is paralleled on contemporary silver issues of other eastern mints, such as Seleucia (No. 252, PLATE XX, 1) and Ecbatana (Nos. 626–631, PLATE XLVII, 9–16). This fact places the probable date for the close of Group B about 204 B. C., for the introduction of the elephant as the reverse type of gold and silver money coined in the eastern portion of the empire must be associated with Antiochus III's successes in Bactria and India, from which he triumphantly returned in the year 205 B. C.[59]

The reverse type of the standing Artemis on the bronze coins Nos. 400 (PLATE XXXI, 7) and 400A further support the assignment of Series II to the mint of Susa, where, as we have remarked before,[60] this goddess for many centuries constituted a popular type of Seleucid and Arsacid kings.

Towards the close of Series II, the baldness noticeable in Antiochus III's later portraits is to be observed on the Susian issues.[61] Heretofore, heavy locks of hair fall below the diadem, along the whole length of the king's forehead. But henceforth these locks are distinctly attenuated, and the curiously high and bony structure of the forehead becomes visible. The nose grows more pointed and the features more emaciated. A similar change, as we shall see, takes place a little before this very time on the coinage for Ecbatana.[62] The more realistic portraiture was perhaps introduced at Susa[63] when Antiochus, on his return from the east, passed through the city, thus giving the local die-cutters an opportunity to behold their king in person at this particular time of his life. The effects of his four years of strenuous marching and compaigning in the alternate extremes of heat and cold of Bactria, Afghanistan and eastern Persia can hardly fail to have left their mark on his features.

The obvious importance and extent of the silver issues, here collected under the heading of Series II, was probably directly due to the great expedition of Antiochus III into the east, with which they were contemporaneous. What the

[59] See above, p. 95, and below, pp. 221–2.

[60] Cf. pp. 115, 123–4, 136–7.

[61] Compare PLATE XXXI, 4–6.

[62] Cf. below, p. 215.

[63] At the mint of Tyre (*The First Seleucid Coinage of Tyre*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 10), the pointed features and high forehead appear in the very first silver and bronze issues (*Ibid.* Pl. I) struck about 201–196 B. C., only to be replaced, *on the silver issues*, by the earlier type with its more generous locks of hair (*Ibid.* Pls. II–V). Curiously enough, the bronze coins throughout retain (*Ibid.* Pl. V, Nos. 17 and 20) the eastern type of portrait with its emaciated features and signs of incipient baldness.

final silver issues of Susa may have been is not yet absolutely clear. Possibly they may be found in a group of tetradrachms having the monogram ⋈ (placed sideways) in the outer left field, for these possess certain technical and stylistic affinities with No. 404. Later would come a considerable group of tetradrachms with the monogram ⍓ in the upper left inner field before the face of Apollo.[64] These coins are of eastern style, have an elderly portrait of Antiochus III and lead directly into a group of coins bearing the name and portrait of Seleucus IV. Unfortunately, definitive proof of this suggestion is not yet available, and the coins in question may have been struck in northern Mesopotamia.

MISCELLANEOUS BRONZE COINS

The coins found during the excavations of Susa do not all prove as useful for our purposes as might have been expected. The number of Seleucid pieces recovered was far less than was the case at Seleucia on the Tigris. Hence, most of the varieties published[65] are preserved to us in single, or at most in two or three examples only. Thus are we deprived of obvious assurance that a given variety, because it turned up in really large numbers at Susa, must have been coined in that mint. The coins found at Seleucia, proved to be of local mintage almost exclusively; at Susa, specimens coined at Seleucia are as commonly found as those presumably of Susa itself. The coins are for the most part heavily corroded, and apparently little consistent effort has since been made to clean them scientifically. Hence, although their types may still be more or less visible, their monograms are illegible in almost every instance. This deprives us, except in certain outstanding instances, of the inestimable advantage of being able to tie up the bronze coins with the contemporary silver issues—as was happily the case at Seleucia. Finally, the descriptions furnished us are not always entirely dependable,[66] and as illustrations are provided in a few instances only, we cannot always be certain that a given coin is of a style and fabric suitable to the Susa mint. Towards an amelioration of these difficulties, M. Jean Babelon of the Bibliothèque Nationale has most kindly, and at considerable trouble to himself, forwarded to the writer casts of such Seleucid bronze coins from Susa as have reached the Paris collection in the division of finds. Casts of those still remaining in Persia, it has not been possible to secure. Those

[64] An example in Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 982, Pl. 35.

[65] *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse; Mission en Susiane*, Vols. XX and XXV.

[66] Dr. J.-M. Unvala, for instance, in *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 82, Nos. 1–3, describes well-known tetradrachms of Alexander the Great as being of bronze and having a seated Bacchus on the reverse! *Loc. cit.*, p. 107, Nos. 18 and 19 are common coins of Seleucus I, which he assigns to Alexander the Great and describes the profile head of Medusa on the obverse as a head of Heracles. *Ibid.*, p. 107, No. 21, he describes the dolphin symbol as a *tête de coq;* p. 107, No. 23 he assures us has a *bearded* head of Seleucus I (it is actually a head of Zeus); p. 108, No. 27 he assigns a common coin of the Macedonian kings to Antiochus I and calls it *inédite*. These are a few instances, selected entirely at random, where a "check-up" is provided by the plates. This leaves us doubting the other descriptions where no check is provided by accompanying illustrations. As a result, we dare not use Dr. Unvala's descriptions except where the particular coins may be reproduced on the accompanying plate. Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe's descriptions are infinitely more scholarly and dependable, but the Seleucid coins are summarily described and many cannot therefore be used.

from Paris have been most helpful, as their use on our plates will amply testify. In some cases, however, it proved well-nigh impossible to tie up the casts with the descriptions of the coins as published in the *Mémoires;* while in other cases, as every one knows who has had to study corroded bronze coins by means of casts only, the evidence is not conclusive. For few of these Susian coins have ever penetrated to the west and so we do not possess already published coins to assist us in deciphering casts made from badly corroded specimens. Under such handicaps we offer here a tentative list of bronze coins which may have been coined at Susa under Antiochus III, or possibly Antiochus IV.

405. BRONZE DOUBLE (?).
Youthful (?) male head to r. wearing *petasus*. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Trophy (or is it a herm ?). In outer l. field, traces of a monogram, ⋔.

Paris (Susa. *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 109, No. 37, Pl. viii), gr. 4.75. PLATE XXXI, 8

406. BRONZE UNIT (?).
Medusa (?) head facing within a circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath a prow to l. whose *acrostolium* is adorned with a fillet.

Paris (from Susa). PLATE XXXI, 9.

407. BRONZE UNIT.
Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Artemis, in short *chiton*, advancing l. and holding a torch in her outstretched r. In outer r. field, ⋔. In outer l. field, uncertain monogram.

α) Seleucia, p. 17, No. 37, gr. 2.44; β) Berlin (Macdonald in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 93, No. 12, Pl. iv, 12), gr. 3.24. PLATE XXXI, 10.

408. BRONZE UNIT.
Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Helmeted, draped, winged figure of Athena-Nike advancing to l., holds palm-branch in l. and wreath in outstretched r. Monograms obscure.

α) Paris (Susa. *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 108, No. 30, Pl. viii), gr. 3.16. PLATE XXXI, 11; β) Paris (Susa. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 25, No. 23). PLATE XXXI, 12.

409. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar laureate head of Apollo to r., with long curls. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Inscription as on the preceding. Apollo, nude, standing l. beside tripod upon which he rests his l. elbow. In outstretched r. he holds an arrow. Monograms obscure.

α–β) Paris (from Susa). PLATE XXXI, 13, 14; γ) Paris (Susa. *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XXV, Pl. vi, 28), gr. 2.385; δ) Dr. McDowell (from Persia), ↑, gr. 2.31.

410. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Female head to r., with long tress of hair and wearing an elephant's skin head-dress. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Artemis, in short *chiton*, standing facing. She holds a long, lighted torch in her r. and a bow (?) in her l. Over her r. shoulder may be seen the top of her quiver. In outer r. field, uncertain monogram.

Teheran (Susa. *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 108, No. 31, where the types are badly described. Fortunately, the accompanying Plate vi gives a tolerably good reproduction of this very interesting coin), gr. 14.05.

411. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, monogram (?) above X.

α) Paris (Susa. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. XXV, p. 108, No. 29, Pl. viii. This specimen, too, has been quite wrongly described. The supposed epithet ΝΙΚΑΤ (ορος), hesitatingly added to the name by Dr. Unvala, appears, from a cast kindly sent by M. Jean Babelon, to consist of corrosion spots and the letter *chi*, not *kappa* as proposed by Dr. Unvala. In the light of this fact, and also because the coin is not an issue of Antiochus I as formerly supposed, E. Bickermann's statement, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 242, should be modified), gr. 1.887. PLATE XXXI, 15; β) Paris (Susa. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. XX, p. 23, No. 9, where this coin is more correctly described by Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe and an attribution to Antiochus III suggested). PLATE XXXI, 16; γ) Paris (from Susa). PLATE XXXI, 17.

412. BRONZE UNIT.

Bearded head of Zeus-Ammon to r., with Ammon's horn and diadem. Behind, lotus-tipped sceptre. Circle of dots.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below victory in galloping *biga* to r. Above, to r., Ⱥ. Beneath the horses, ΑΡ.

Paris (Susa. *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XX, p. 25, No. 27, Pl. i, 12), gr. 2.50. PLATE XXXI, 18. Apparently copied from a similar piece, cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Rev. suisse de num*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 122, pl. iv, 22.

412A. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of Apollo three-quarters facing r. Bevelled edge.

Inscription obliterated. Horse's head to l.

Paris (from Susa). PLATE XXXI, 19.

As the fabric of No. 405, PLATE XXXI, 8, differs considerably from that of the known Susian bronze issues of Antiochus I (PLATE XXVI, 15) and Antiochus II (PLATE XXVII, 8) but, on the other hand, closely approaches that of the issues of Seleucus II, Seleucus III and Antiochus III, it seems best to assign it to the last king. The obverse is described by Dr. Unvala as *droit indistinct*, but a close inspection of the cast plainly reveals a *petasus*, even to its "button" at the top, and portions of a male head to r. We may well compare this type to the facing head at Seleucia,[67] which also dates from the reign of Antiochus III and wears a similar

[67] Nos. 257–258, PLATE XX, 9, 10, 12.

petasus. If the reverse bears a trophy,[68] as described by Dr. Unvala, then that type may refer to the military successes of Antiochus in the east, just as the Hermes (?) of the obverse may commemorate the restoration of commerce which had been secured by the same successes.

The coin No. 406, PLATE XXXI, 9, must have come somewhat later, for its reverse type seems to have been directly copied from bronze coins of the Tyrian mint, coined about 198–197 B. C. in commemoration of Antiochus III's bold advance into Asia Minor and the early successes he obtained along the coast by means of the powerful fleet under his personal command.[69] Even the detail of the fillet, tied to the galley's *acrostolium* on the prototype, is reproduced on this Susian copy.

No. 407, PLATE XXXI, 10, was assigned to the reign of Antiochus I by Sir George Macdonald when he first published the piece in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 93–4. He there takes occasion to remark upon its poor style and suggests that it may well have been coined at a later date. A comparison with the coins with which it has been associated on our PLATE XXXI, 11–17, clearly indicates that its period must be the reign of Antiochus III, and that its mint was probably Susa. The crude style noted by Macdonald is now known to be quite typical of the Susian bronze issues. The monogram with which No. 407 is provided is also found on the tetradrachm No. 386, whose origin in Susa is beyond question. Finally, the reverse type of Artemis almost certainly places the coin at Susa where, as has been remarked above, Artemis throughout Hellenistic and Parthian times was a peculiarly popular type because of her association with the native Anaïtis or Nanaia. On the other hand, no certain example of No. 407 has yet been recorded from Susa, although the coin described in *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XX, p. 25, No. 24, our No. 400A, may actually be one of this type, rather than of No. 400.

Of similar style and fabric, and known only through examples actually found at Susa, comes No. 408, PLATE XXXI, 11–12, with the seldom-used type of the helmeted and winged Athena-Nike, holding wreath and palm-branch. This composite divinity doubtless appears on the present coinage to commemorate some victory of Antiochus, or to foreshadow the triumphs he hoped to achieve in Asia Minor and Greece.

With regard to No. 409, PLATE XXXI, 13–14, style, fabric and the fact that some specimens turned up in the excavations of Susa, all point to the conclusion that Susa was doubtless the mint of these rather undistinguished looking coins.

The comparatively numerous specimens of Nos. 410–411, PLATE XXXI, 15–17, coming from Susa, and not known elsewhere, assure us of their origin in that particular mint. The reappearance of the elephant's skin head-dress on these coins is both artistically interesting and historically significant. It connects them, on the

[68] An area of corrosion renders the upper portion of the supposed trophy rather uncertain. Judging solely by the cast, the design could equally well be that of a facing herm, such as one sees on the bronze coins of Mytilene, Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., Pl. xxxviii, 9–10.

[69] Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 73. *The Seleucid Coinages of Tyre, A Supplement.* Pp. 2–4, Pl. I, 1–2.

one hand, with certain posthumous coins of Alexander the Great[70] and with the issues of Seleucus I commemorating his campaigns in India,[71] and on the other hand with the attempt of Antiochus III to emulate his great predecessors in the same regions. The features, and the long tress of hair falling from beneath the head-dress, on Nos. 410–411, indicate that we must have before us some female divinity or personification. To give her a completely satisfactory name, however, is difficult. Is it Nike with the *exuvia* of the Indian elephant, or is it the personification of India herself? The latter suggestion is supported by the fact that in Hellenistic and Roman times Africa is usually represented in this very fashion.[72] In connection with our coins, the writer did at one time think of Africa, but the personification of Africa with the elephant's head-dress dates (on coins, at least) from about the middle of the first century B. C.,[73] and in her representation the tress of hair invariably takes the form of the Libyan corkscrew curl. Antiochus III was indeed the victor over Egypt in 201–198 B. C., but would that event be so likely to be commemorated at Susa as that of the eastern expedition? One might also think of Antiochus IV who so ostentatiously celebrated[74] his invasion of Egypt in 168–7 B. C., but in that case the style of Nos. 410–411 appears to be too good, and the assignment to Antiochus III safer. In passing, attention should be drawn to the clay seal from Warka, pictured by Prof. Rostovtzeff.[75] This bears the draped portrait-bust of a king wearing the elephant's skin. The features here suggest to the writer the later type of Antiochus III's coin portraits, with its high and incipiently bald forehead. On the other hand, it might be argued that the portrait is intended for Antiochus IV[76] who had inherited his father's high forehead. For real assurance in the matter, the clay sealing itself should be carefully studied alongside selected specimens of the coins of both kings.

On the reverses of Nos. 410–411 is depicted, once more, the most deeply revered deity at Susa, Artemis-Anaïtis, and her august presence assures the attribution of these coins.

To the preceding types have been added two others, Nos. 412–412A, PLATE XXXI, 18–19, whose dates and even attribution are far more uncertain. Both coins were found in Susa and lack any other provenance record. The rather crude style of No. 412 also points to that mint. In publishing it,[77] Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe assigned it to Antiochus IV. For which viewpoint there is possibly more to say than for an assignment to the third Antiochus. It has, however, been included here

[70] Cf. the well known coins of Ptolemy I of Egypt bearing the head of Alexander wearing the elephant's head-dress.

[71] Cf. Nos. 291, 294–297, 459–460.

[72] E. Babelon, *Arethuse*, Vol. I, fasc. 3, April 1924, pp. 95–107.

[73] E. Babelon, *loc. cit.*, p. 103ff.

[74] Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, The American Journal of Numismatics, Vol. LI, pp. 24–30.

[75] *Seleucid Babylonia. Bullae and Seals of Clay with Greek Inscriptions*, p. 45, No. 70, Pl. VI, 1 and 2. See also J. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, p. 65, No. 17, Pl. 87c.

[76] This now appears to be Tarn's opinion also (*loc. cit.*, pp. 188–9). It is possible that Nos. 410–411, after all, should be ascribed to Antiochus IV.

[77] *Mémoires, etc.*, Vol. XX, p. 25, No. 27.

for completeness' sake and to serve as a space filler on our Plate. The same is true of No. 412A, of which even the issuer is not known as the inscription is illegible. The finding at Susa of the only recorded specimen, makes that mint a possible choice, but it must be admitted that the facing head and the general appearance of the obverse fits better with the issues of Seleucia. No specimens, however, have as yet been recorded from that site.

Many more varieties than have here been described appear in the two volumes listing the Seleucid coins from the excavations of Susa. Failing the opportunity to inspect and study these in person, the writer prefers to omit them altogether. Some are certainly from the mint at Seleucia on the Tigris; others appear to be issues of Antioch. The correctness of the description of still others is highly suspect. Finally, a few by their late style, crude die-cutting and great irregularity of their flans were most probably struck under Antiochus IV and V, both of whom are outside the scope of the present study.

CHAPTER IV

PERSEPOLIS—ISTAKHR

SELEUCUS I

GROUP A, *c.* 300 B. C. AND LATER

413. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Seleucus I to r. wearing helmet covered with a panther's skin and adorned with the ear and horns of a bull. A panther's skin and paws is knotted about his neck.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Winged victory standing to r. placing a wreath on a trophy. In field, Ɛ and ΔΙ.

A1 —*P1.* London (Gardner No. 36, Pl. i, 11), gr. 16.85. PLATE XXXII, 1.

414. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

Naville X, June 1925, No. 798, Pl. 27 (= Late Collector, Sotheby, May 1900, No. 419, Pl. viii), gr. 4.05. PLATE XXXII, 2.

415. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Berlin, gr. 2.11. PLATE XXXII, 3; β) Pozzi Coll., Naville I, 1921, No. 2923, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 3.09; γ) Cahn Sale 66, May 1930, No. 363, Pl. 11 (= Helbing Sale, Oct. 1928, No. 4057 = Naville X, June 1925, No. 801, pl. 27 = Fenerly Bey, Egger XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 634, pl. xvii), gr. 1.85–1.76 (sic !).

416. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani, Feb. 1925, No. 737, Pl. 13, gr. 0.70.[1] PLATE XXXII, 4.

GROUP B

417. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the field, H and AX.

A2 —*P2.* Newell, ↑, gr. 16.58. PLATE XXXII, 5.
A3 —*P3.* Berlin, gr. 16.895.
A4 —*P4.* London (Gardner No. 37), gr. 16.54. PLATE XXXII, 6.
A5 —*P5.* Naville X, June 1925, No. 794, Pl. 27 (= Headlam Coll., Sotheby, May 1916, No. 432b, Pl. x), gr. 16.79. PLATE XXXII, 7.
P6. Sir H. Weber Coll., No. 7832, gr. 16.66, Pl. 285. PLATE XXXII, 8.
A6 (?)—*P7.* α) Paris (Babelon, No. 44), gr. 15.40; β) Riza Khan Pahlevi. Excavations at Persepolis.
A7 (?)[2]—*P8.* α) Cambridge (McClean Coll., No. 9244, Pl. 335, 8 = Carfrae Coll., Sotheby, May 1894,

[1] The specimen in the Philipsen Coll., Hirsch XXV, 1909, No. 2858, Pl. xxxii, gr. 0.54, and now in Berlin, is apparently a Barbaric copy, both inscription and monograms being blundered.

[2] The two specimens in the Jameson Coll. (No. 1653, gr. 14.26, Pl. lxxxiii) and the Valton Coll. (*Revue Numismatique*, 4th Série, Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 130, No. 478, gr. 16.25, Pl. vi) are from the same obverse and reverse dies and are apparently ancient forgeries. M. Jameson, p. 401 of his catalogue, Vol. I, definitely states

No. 296, Pl. x, 7), gr. 16.73. PLATE XXXII, 9; β) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1422, Pl. 50, gr. 16.9. It is somewhat doubtful if α and β are actually from the same reverse die.

418. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Berlin, gr. 4.14; β) London (Gardner No. 39, Pl. i, 12), gr. 3.01; γ) Naville X, June 1925, No. 799, Pl. 27, gr. 4.02; δ) Jameson Coll., No. 1656, gr. 3.85, Pl. lxxxii; ε) Possibly Pozzi Coll., Naville I, 1921, No. 2922, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 3.98; ζ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll. No. 770, p. xviii), ←, gr. 4.16. PLATE XXXII, 10; ζ) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 353), gr. 4.20.

419. HEMIDRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) London (Gardner, No. 40), gr. 1.64, Pl. i, 13; β) Berlin, gr. 1.98. PLATE XXXII, 11.

420. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the field, M and AX.

A8 —*P9*. Stockholm. *Doktor Otto Smiths Münzensammlung im Kgl. Münzkabinett Stockholm*, 1931, p. 22, No. 257, Pl. vii.

421. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the field, H and MI (or IM ?).

A9—*P10*. Munich, ←, gr. 16.55. PLATE XXXII, 12.

GROUP C

422. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the field, 𐤐 and MI.

A10—*P11*. Newell, ↙, gr. 16.25. PLATE XXXII, 13.
P12. Paris (Babelon, No. 42, Pl. i, 14), gr. 17.

423. OBOL.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Naville X, June 1925, No. 802, Pl. 27, gr. 0.53.

424. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the field, 𐤐 and 𐤓.[3]

A11—*P13*. Newell, ↗, gr. 16.89. PLATE XXXII, 14.
P14. Berlin, gr. 16.88.

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that his piece is *fourrée*. The true character of the pieces is shown by their heavy, rather barbaric style and their blundered legends.

[3] The specimen of this variety in the Egger Sale of Jan. 1908, No. 565, Pl. xvii, later in the Philipsen Coll., Hirsch XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2856, Pl. xxxii, and now in the author's Coll. (gr. 15.74, cleaned) is *fourrée*, and hence, an ancient forgery.

P15. Hess Sale 208, Dec. 1931, No. 680 (= Cons. Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4030, Pl. lii), gr. 16.67.

425. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 43), gr. 2.85; β) Berlin, gr. 3.26. PLATE XXXII, 15.

426. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In the field, 𐡀 and 𐡓.[4]

A12—*P16.* α) Naville X, June 1925, No. 796, Pl. 27 (= Berlin Dupl., Hess Sale, Oct. 1907, No. 1136, Pl. iii), gr. 16.68; β) Naville X, June 1925, No. 795, Pl. 27 (= Benson Coll., Sotheby, Feb. 1909, No. 754, Pl. xxiv = Late Collector, Sotheby 1900, No. 418, Pl. viii), gr. 16.67; γ) Berlin, gr. 17.045. PLATE XXXII, 16.

A13—*P17.* London (Gardner No. 38), gr. 16.57.

A14—*P18.* Naville XIV, July 1929, No. 408, Pl. 15 (= Pozzi Coll., Naville I, 1921, No. 2921, Pl. lxxxv), gr. 17.06. PLATE XXXII, 17.

427. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Philipsen Coll., Hirsch XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2857, Pl. xxxii, gr. 3.34. PLATE XXXII, 18.

The division of Nos. 413–427 into three groups may appear at first sight over-refinement. But Nos. 413–416 (PLATE XXXII, 1–4) comprise a full series of denominations—as behooves an initial issue. They are also the finest and most careful in execution and style of the entire series and may therefore be confidently placed at its head. The second group (B) is nearest in style (PLATE XXXII, 5–12) to Nos. 413–416, and its tetradrachms (Nos. 417, 420–421) are the most extensive in the number of extant specimens and recorded dies. The coins of Group C, Nos. 422–427 (PLATE XXXII, 13–18), are closely tied together by the monograms 𐡀 (on Nos. 422–425) and 𐡓 (on Nos. 424–427). The union would be even closer if we could be sure (as may be the case) that 𐡀 (on Nos. 426 and 427) and 𐡀 (on Nos. 422–425) are but variants of the same monogram. The coins of Group C are differentiated from their predecessors by slight variations in the rendering of certain details. Thus, for instance, the leopard spots no longer appear on the skin which is knotted about the king's throat, their place being taken by long, parallel lines to indicate the folds of the tightly pulled fore-legs.

The obverses of our coins display a portrait, somewhat idealized[5] to be sure, of Seleucus himself, wearing a helmet covered with a leopard's skin and adorned with a bull's ear and horns. Around Seleucus' throat is another leopard's skin, knotted in front by means of the beast's fore-paws. This skin has been called that of a lion by most scholars, but Babelon correctly recognizes[6] it as a leopard's. On all well-preserved specimens it exhibits the same little groups of short strokes or

[4] The specimen in the Jameson Coll., No. 2342, Pl. cxxiii, because of its peculiar style and blundered inscription, is probably an ancient forgery.

[5] Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie*, Introd., p. xv.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

dots which mark the skin covering the helmet itself. If these peculiar marks on the helmet are intended to suggest the spots characterizing a leopard, then the *exuvia* about the throat must necessarily be of the same species.

Babelon, in the introduction to his *Les rois de Syrie*, has very pertinently pointed out the striking resemblance between these rather youthful and idealized features of Seleucus and those of the Alexander-like profile of Heracles on the ordinary tetradrachms of the Alexander type. The knotted animal paws beneath the chin of both heads but serve to heighten the similitude. He suggests that this represents a sort of compromise between the idealized numismatic portraits of two entirely different personages, and that the head of Seleucus was thus intentionally made to resemble the Heracles-Alexander head on the Alexandrine coins to which commerce and the people had now grown accustomed. The present writer accepts Babelon's viewpoint, but believes that there existed a still deeper intention in this evident resemblance—that there was definitely suggested a parallel between Alexander as conqueror of India and Seleucus his emulator. This suggestion is yet further strengthened by the quite exceptional presence of the leopard skin, for was not the leopard *par excellence* the constant companion of Dionysus, and was not Dionysus far famed as the great invader and conqueror of India? Incidentally India, no less than Africa, was considered in antiquity as the home-land of the leopard.[7]

Turning now to the reverse type of these coins, we see a winged, fully-draped figure of Nike standing to right. She holds a wreath in her upraised hands, apparently about to place it upon a trophy of arms erect before her. The captured arms, comprising a helmet, cuirass with leather straps and skirt, and a star-adorned shield, are hung upon a large tree trunk, from the lower part of which springs a leafy branch. The arms are purely Greek in form and character. The tree trunk with its budding branch indicates that the trophy was erected on the battle-field itself[8] and, probably, in the spring or summer. The apparent date of the first appearance of our issue, taken in conjunction with the Greek character of the trophy's arms and the implication conveyed by the leafy branch, all point to the battle of Ipsus as the particular victory which the type was intended to commemorate. This spectacular and decisive battle marked the destruction of Antigonus' empire and resulted in a wide extension to Seleucus' dominions and a notable increase in his power and prestige. The battle itself was fought in the spring or early summer of 301 B. C.[9] So obvious would have been the urge for Seleucus specifically to celebrate this victory on his coinage, that Macdonald[10] has long since associated these coins with the battle of Ipsus.

[7] Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, p. 63.

[8] As was the usual custom of the Greeks. Cf. Woelcke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tropaions*, Bonn, 1911, p. 13ff.

[9] So Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II², p. 216; Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, I, p. 350; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, I, p. 59. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV, 1, 2nd ed., p. 167, places the battle in August, 301.

[10] In Head's *Historia Numorum*², p. 757.

The star which ornaments the shield in the trophy possibly contains some definite allusion. For instance, one might call attention to the similar star which adorns the shield boss on certain copper coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes,[11] as well as to the same symbol which appears on the fo'c'sle of the earliest victory issues of that ruler at Salamis.[12] The star also appears on numerous other issues of Demetrius,[13] as well as on some Alexandrine coins struck in Asia Minor during his father's reign.[14] Thus, a possible connection between the star symbol and the two earliest members of the Antigonid dynasty[15] is at least suggested by their coins.

Hence, both obverse and reverse types clearly celebrate the two recent triumphs of Seleucus, and the consolidation of his empire from Asia Minor to the confines of India. This coinage therefore represents one of the earliest of royal Greek commemorative issues. It also bears a distinct flavor of propaganda, intended for the benefit of friend and foe alike. The fortunate results of the great victory at Ipsus must have been patent to all, but modern authorities are inclined to minimize Seleucus' successes in India. He certainly secured no territory there, and the campaign appears to have been brought to a conclusion by negotiation and compromise rather than by a decisive victory and a dictated peace. But it may be taken as a political axiom that the more dubious the success, the more powerful would be the urge to claim a triumph. A study of Roman imperial coin types clearly illustrates this fact.[16]

Imhoof-Blumer, who was apparently the first to suggest[17] a mint for these coins, assigns them to Antioch on the Orontes. Macdonald accepts this attribution on the ground that they "are not distinctively Eastern."[18] With both of these respected authorities, the present writer begs to differ. In the first place, the small, thick and generally cupped fabric of the flans, the far from delicate manner of the die-cutting, the stocky proportions of the Nike, the smallness and irregularity of the lettering, the general impression conveyed by the coins as a whole, is distinctly eastern. Compare these coins with the western issues of Seleucus I, such as the tetradrachms struck at Pergamum[19] or other mints in Asia Minor and Syria.[20]

In the second place, specimens of these coins are seldom or never known to turn up in or around the Mediterranean littoral. All three of the writer's own coins (Nos. 417, 422, 424) reached him from Mesopotamian, and probably Persian, sources. There was an example of the hemidrachm (variety uncertain, as the

[11] Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, Pl. xvii, Nos. 20–22.

[12] *Ibid.*, Pl. ii, No. 1.

[13] *Ibid.*, Pl. v, Nos. 4–14; Pl. vi, Nos. 1 and 18; Pl. xvi, Nos. 2–3, 5–8; Pl. xvii, No. 27.

[14] Müller, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 157–161, 163–164.

[15] Later, the star appears frequently on the issues of the last two rulers of the dynasty, Philip V and Perseus.

[16] Note, for instance, the surprising fulsomeness of the "victory types" under Domitian for his Germanic wars, under the Severi and under Philip the Arabian for their Parthian "victories", under the later emperors for their "triumphs" over the Barbarians!

[17] *Num. Zeitschrift*, XXVII, 1895, p. 17.

[18] Head's *Historia Numorum*,[2] p. 757.

[19] Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, Pl. III, 19–21; Num. Notes and Monogr. No. 76, Pls. ii–vi.

[20] Macdonald, *Hunterian Collection*, III, Pl. lxiii, Nos. 10–11.

magistrates' monogram or letters were illegible) in Gejou's Mesopotamian Hoard,[21] and a tetradrachm turned up in a hoard found by Dr. Herzfeld at Persepolis. It is highly significant that before the opening of Mesopotamia and Persia to collectors or their agents, these victory coins of Seleucus I were very seldom seen. Even the comparatively common drachms of the later kings of Persis were practically unknown in Europe until well after the middle of the nineteenth century.[22] The first of our Seleucus coins was published by Haym in his Thesaurus[23] from the specimen in the British Museum.[24] They rarely exist in the collections formed in the 17th, 18th or early 19th centuries. For instance, there is not a single specimen in Hunter's collection (Glasgow), although he drew extensively from Aleppo[25] and even appears to have made an attempt[26] to secure coins via the Honourable East India Company from Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. That he did not succeed is evidenced by the extremely small number of coins from Characene, Persia, Persis, Bactria and India in the collection. Similarly, there were no examples of our coins in Col. Leake's collection, in the collection at Hedervar, in the Turin collections (either in the Royal collection, or in those of Lavy and the Museo Archeologico), or in the older public collections at Copenhagen, Naples and Athens. All of these drew their material from more westerly sources.

Finally, and this is perhaps the most significant of all, the types of our coins are extensively imitated on certain silver pieces (cf. PLATE LVI, 7–9) which seem to come only from Baluchistan[27]—a sure indication of the eastern origin of their prototypes.

Granting, then, the obviously eastern origin of Nos. 413–427, it can only have been in the great provincial capital of Persepolis-Istakhr that our coins could have been struck. For of the possible eastern mints of Seleucus, Seleucia on the Tigris presents us with an already completely full series of coins (Nos. 1–133) extending from the very foundation of the city to the death of its founder in 280 B. C.; Babylon's issues are apparently confined to the lion stater and these offer no possible connection with Nos. 413–427; Susa coined principally with other types and in a differing style with which our present pieces will in no wise coincide; while Ecbatana, until the reign of Antiochus I, confined its silver issues to the Alexandrine type. Farther east we need hardly go, for coins of this type appear never to have reached the west from India. On the other hand, of the writer's three tetradrachms one specimen certainly and one probably came originally from Persia, while Prof. Herzfeld's hoard offers the determining proof. This historically important find[28] consisted of ten tetradrachms, comprising the following varieties:

[21] Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*,[2] No. 680.
[22] Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. IV, 1877, p. 152.
[23] Vol. II, Pl. II, 8.
[24] Gardner, p. 4, No. 37.
[25] Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, I, Introd. pp. x–xiii.
[26] *Ibid.* pp. xx–xxi.
[27] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1904, pp. 317ff., Pl. xvii, 1–7. This fact was also noted by Macdonald in the *Historia Numorum*[2], p. 757, but its implication was not sufficiently appreciated by him.
[28] Now in the possession of Riza Khan Pahlevi, Shah of Iran. Photographs of these coins are preserved

1 Tetradrachm of Seleucus I, victory and trophy type, in good condition.
1 Tetradrachm of Bagadat, type Brit. Mus., Pl. xxviii, 7, in fine condition.
1 Tetradrachm of Oborzos, type Brit. Mus., Pl. lii, 10, in fine condition.
7 Tetradrachms of Autophradates I, Brit. Mus., Pl. xxix, 5–6, in very fine condition.

The hoard clearly suggests a compact little group of coins gathered by its former owner over a period of a few years, while the condition of the Seleucid coin indicates its having immediately preceded the issues of the kings of Istakhr and of having been coined locally. As in Hellenistic times, the great province of Persis, with its capital of Persepolis-Istakhr, was alone of paramount importance in all this district; and as we now have a hoard from the very ruins of the capital containing one of these Seleucus tetradrachms coupled with examples of the immediately following issues of the kings of Persis, we seem fully justified in assigning Nos. 413–427 to Persepolis. In passing, it may be noted that exactly as these coins of Seleucus comprise a whole series of denominations in silver (tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, obols) so do also the immediately succeeding issues of the Istakhri kings; while from both series bronze coins appear to be absent.

The types of Nos. 413–427 have already been shown to be closely connected with the expedition of Seleucus into Indian territories and with the great victory of Ipsus. Our coins probably date, therefore, from about 300 B. C. To judge by the known number of their varieties, the issue must have lasted not a few years, perhaps even to the end of the reign. The Persepolis hoard suggests that they were immediately followed by the issues of Bagadat. Dr. Herzfeld, on entirely different grounds, has placed[29] the beginning of independence at around 300 B. C. The coins make it probable that the date of *complete* independence must fall a little later than this. On the other hand, the dates suggested by previous scholars—about 250 B. C.[30] or towards the end of the third century B. C.[31]—are too late.[32] Otherwise, the Persepolis hoard would surely have contained Seleucid issues struck between the victory type of Seleucus and the tetradrachm of Bagadat, first king of Persis to coin money independently. These two categories of coins (i. e. the Seleucus and the Bagadat tetradrachms) are too similar in the state of wear exhibited and in their style to allow of much difference in time between their respective coinings. Most, if not all the coins of kings immediately following Bagadat have obviously been restruck over earlier pieces. It is probably significant that in the three instances in which the nature of the earlier coin can be definitely determined, it

in the library of the American Numismatic Society and in the Oriental Institute, Chicago. The hoard was unearthed, during the campaign of 1934–5, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the great Palace terrace. It lay on the floor of a small room belonging to some insignificant building which had been erected after the destruction of the palace itself.

[29] *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 46–7.

[30] British Museum Catalogue, *Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, Introd., p. clxi.

[31] De Morgan, in *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, III, *Monnaies orientales*, Vol. I, p. 343.

[32] A. D. Mordtmann, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. X, 1878, p. 197, however, follows Levy and Otto Blau in assigning the coins of the dynasty of Bagadat to the period shortly after Alexander the Great's death.

should be of the Alexander[33] and not of some later Seleucid type. This fact suggests that in point of time these Persis re-strikes are comparatively early. Thus, we learn that the native kings of Persis early succeeded in asserting their full independence from Seleucid control. It is difficult to believe, however, that this could have happened during the successful reign of a powerful monarch such as Seleucus I undoubtedly was; although we possess nothing as yet to prove the contrary. The writer would prefer to assign the commencement of full independence to about 280 B. C., when on the death of Seleucus his great empire all but fell to pieces. Antiochus, being then engaged in his desperate struggle to retain the principle portions of his heritage, would have had neither leisure nor the necessary strength for asserting full sovereignty over an outlying province such as Persis. The district was powerful, well protected by nature, and its inhabitants fiercely independent in character and upheld by a long and glorious historical tradition. The native ruler may have secured acquiescence to freedom by means of a more or less amicable understanding which Antiochus, in his extremity, could not well refuse. Not a word of this "revolution", be it peaceful or otherwise, has survived in classical literature—but the coins, and now, perhaps, the results of excavations in and around Persepolis-Istakhr allow us to appreciate the very real nature of Persian independence in the early third century B. C.

Later, Persis was apparently again recovered by the Syrian kings, for at the time of Molon's revolt we learn from Polybius that the usurper's brother Alexander was the Seleucid satrap of the province. This Seleucid interlude may correspond to one of the breaks which occur in the even sequence of the Persepolitan coins after the time of Autophradates. Some day new Seleucid coins may turn up to fill this gap—or they may come to be recognized among the many strange coins of uncertain mintage which we already possess, bearing the portrait of a Seleucus II or an Antiochus III.

[33] British Museum Catalogue, *Arabia*, etc. p. 200, No. 2, Pl. xxix, 6; a specimen in the author's collection and another described by de Morgan, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, III, *Monnaies orientales*, Vol. I, p. 402, No. 13. The under-type of the specimen described by Hill, *ibid.*, p. 202, No. 3, Pl. xxix, 12 appears to be a drachm of Seleucus I of the elephant quadriga (or biga) type, which would not invalidate our argument.

CHAPTER V

ECBATANA

Another royal Persian city, which also became one of the principal mints of the Seleucid kings, was the ancient capital of Media, Ecbatana. Here Darius and his Median predecessors had built a mighty palace, concerning which Herodotus gives us a fairy-tale description,[1] where the Persian kings were wont to pass the torrid eastern summers. Here Alexander deposited[2] the great treasure[3] which had been captured in Persis. Near Ecbatana, and especially to the south and north, were plains rich in corn and pasturage for innumerable herds of horses—the famous Nisaean breed. Through the metropolis ran the immemorial highroad from Babylon, past the historic rock of Behistun with its royal inscriptions, to Ecbatana and thence via Rhagae to the equally fertile plains of Khorasan. Here, the road branched—one arm leading to Bactria and its thousand cities, the other to Aria, Afghanistan and the sweltering plains of India.[3a]

There need be less surprise that a mint was opened by the Greeks at Ecbatana than that the mint should have commenced to function so late. At least, the earliest coins of Alexandrine types that can be assigned confidently to Ecbatana, do not antedate the reign of Seleucus. There do exist a few earlier pieces which may have been coined there. But these will be ignored in the present work, as we aim to study only those pieces certainly issued under the authority of Seleucus.

Having in October, 312 B. C., recovered his old satrapy of Babylonia by his bold dash from the victorious field of Gaza, Seleucus found himself almost immediately called upon to face the army of Nicanor, satrap of Media, the ally and agent of Antigonus in the eastern satrapies. Seleucus advanced to meet the new threat, was completely victorious, and at once proceeded to secure both Susiana and Media.[4] Antigonus attempted a diversion by despatching his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, with a small army into Babylonia. While Seleucus was absent in Media, Demetrius arrived before Babylon in 311 B. C. He could effect little in the short time at his disposal, and soon left to rejoin his father in Syria. Seleucus' rule over western Iran may be said to date, therefore, from 311 B. C. It was at this time that Seleucus established a regular mint at Ecbatana to meet the monetary needs of the Iranian Plateau and, beyond and above all, to supply with the necessary currency the busy and wealthy trade which flowed continuously along the great highway from Babylon to the east. His earliest issues here still bear the name and types of the great Alexander.

[1] Ernst Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 21–22.

[2] Arrian III, 19, 7.

[3] Diodorus, XVII, 80, 3, says that it amounted to 180,000 talents, roughly, over two hundred and twenty millions of gold dollars.

[3a] On this road, cf. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 61–62.

[4] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 54–56.

SERIES I, *c.* 311–303 B. C.

GROUP A

428. STATER.
Head of Athena with cork-screw curls to r., wearing a crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a Persian lion-griffin running to r.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged and draped figure of victory standing facing to l., holds wreath in her outstretched r., and *stylis* in l. At her feet, forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l.

Berlin, ↙, PLATE XXXIII, 1.

429. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus, nude to waist, seated to l. on *diphros*, holding eagle in his outstretched r. and resting l. on sceptre. In l. field, 𐤕. Beneath throne, ⊗.

Hollschek Coll., gr. 17.05. PLATE XXXIII, 2.

430. HEMIDRACHM.
Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐤕 and WHEAT EAR. Beneath throne, O (for ⊗).

α) Berlin, ↓, gr. 1.96. PLATE XXXIII, 3; β) Vienna, gr. 2.09.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

431. OBOL.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐤕. Beneath throne, O (for ⊗).

α–ε) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↓ or ↙, gr. 0.70, 0.66, 0.625, 0.62, 0.61; ϛ) Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. II, p. 72, No. 2130, gr. 0.67, Pl. 82; ζ) Newell, ↘, gr. 0.66. PLATE XXXIII, 4; η) Newell (from Persia), ↓, gr. 0.61; θ) Newell (from Persia), ↓, gr. 0.63; ι) Newell, ↘, 0.68. All are from the same obverse die.

432. HEMIOBOL.
Similar to the preceding.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ between quiver and bow above, club below. In the exergue, 𐤐 (= 𐤕).

α) Berlin, ↓, gr. 0.315. PLATE XXXIII, 5; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 0.33. PLATE XXXIII, 6.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

GROUP B

433. STATER.
Head of Athena with flowing locks to r., wearing triple-crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

Type and inscription similar to No. 428. In l. field, 𐤕 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. In r. field, ⊗.

London (*Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. IX, 1929, p. 186, No. 8, Pl. viii), ↓, gr. 8.55. PLATE XXXIII, 7.

434. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles r. as on No. 429. Circle of dots.

Types and inscription as on No. 429, except that, henceforth, Zeus is seated on a high-backed throne. In l. field, ⊗ above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, 𐤕.

α) Newell (Angora Hoard), ↘, gr. 16.93. PLATE XXXIII, 8; β) Newell (from Dr. Lederer's Persian Collection), ↓, gr. 16.94. PLATE XXXIII, 9; γ) London (Ford Bequest), ↓; δ) Newell, ↓, gr. 17.17. PLATE XXXIII, 10; ε) Newell, ↘, gr. 17.17; ϝ) Newell, ↘, gr. 17.16; ζ) Berlin, ↓, gr. 17.06; η) Berlin, ↓.

γ and δ are from the same reverse die; γ, δ, ε, ϝ, ζ and η are from the same obverse die.

435. DIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

London (found in lower Irak), ↓, gr. 8.33. PLATE XXXIII, 11.

436. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to No. 430.

Similar to No. 430, with the same monograms as No. 435, but the symbol is lacking.

Newell, ↓, gr. 1.95. PLATE XXXIII, 12.

437. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll., *Inedita*, 1859, p 10, No. 13), ↓, gr. 0.62; β–ϝ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten and Imhoof-Blumer Colls.), ↓, gr. 0.695, 0.65, 0.68, 0.60, 0.65. Two of the preceding are stated to have come from Kermanshah, and a further note states that: *24 dieser kleinen Ⱥ sind in Kermanshah erworben;* ζ) Newell, ↓, gr. 0.64; η) Newell, ↓, gr. 0.61. PLATE XXXIII, 13. All from the same obverse die as No. 431; θ–ι) Sir H. Weber Coll., Nos. 2129, 2136, Pl. 82, grs. 0.68, 0.69.

GROUP C

438. STATER.

Similar to No. 433.

Same types and inscription as on No. 433. In l. field, 𐡌𐡕 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. In r. field, 𐡀.

Leningrad. PLATE XXXIII, 14.

439. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as No. 434 γ–η, now worn.

Same types and inscription as on No. 434. In l. field, 𐡌𐡕 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath the throne, 𐡀.

α) Hollschek Coll., gr. 17.04. PLATE XXXIII, 15; β–γ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll. Cf. *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. I, 1869, p. 44, No. 163), ↘, gr. 17.09 and 16.91; δ) Newell, ↙, gr. 17.18. PLATE XXXIII, 16.

α, β and γ are all from the same obverse die; β and δ are from the same reverse die. On this latter die, the throne is again without a back.

440. DIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.12. PLATE XXXIII, 17.

441. HEMIDRACHM.

From the same obverse die as No. 436.

Similar to the preceding, but without the symbol. In l. field, 𐡌𐡕. Beneath throne, 𐡀.

Collection of the late P. Saroglou, Athens, ↓, gr. 1.84. PLATE XXXIII, 18.

442. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms. The symbol is lacking.

Newell, ↙, gr. 0.66. PLATE XXXIII, 19.
This obol is from the same obverse die as most of the specimens of Nos. 431 and 437.

GROUP D

443. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 439.

Same types and inscription as on No. 439. In l. field, IΣA above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, 𐤉.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.). PLATE XXXIII, 20; β) Leningrad. PLATE XXXIII, 21; γ) London, ↓, gr. 16.10.
α, β, γ are from the same obverse but different reverse dies.

444. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same initials, monogram and symbol.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓. PLATE XXXIII, 22.

GROUP E

445. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. as on No. 438.

Same types and inscription as on No. 438. In l. field, 𐤉 (or 𐤉) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) Paris. PLATE XXXIV, 1; β) Newell, ↙, gr. 8.54. PLATE XXXIV, 2.

446. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles, both of "old style" and of "new style."

Same types and inscription as on No. 443. The Zeus figure is of "new style." In l. field, 𐤉 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) Newell (received from Teheran), ↘, gr. 17.14. PLATE XXXIV, 3; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 17.14; γ) Newell, ↘, gr. 16.94. PLATE XXXIV, 4. α is from the same obverse die as No. 443. β and γ are from another obverse die, of "new style."

447. TETRADRACHM.

Of "new style."

Same types, monogram and symbol as on the preceding, but there is now a PELLET in the field above the l. shoulder of Zeus. The monogram is variously rendered as 𐤉 or 𐤉 or 𐤉.

α) London (*Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. 27, 7), ↘, gr. 17.13. PLATE XXXIV, 5; β) Yakountchikoff Coll., gr. 16.84; γ) Newell, ↘, gr. 16.95. PLATE XXXIV, 6; δ) Newell, ↙, gr. 16.80; ε) American Numismatic Society, ↓, gr. 16.90; ϝ) Newell (Armenak Hoard), ↘, gr. 17.04; ζ) Sir Ronald Storrs Coll.; η) E. S. G. Robinson Coll.; θ) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.98; ι) Oxford (Davidson Coll.); κ) Newell (Angora Hoard), ↓, gr. 17.06. PLATE XXXIV, 7; λ) Milan, ↓; μ) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.98. PLATE XXXIV, 8; ν) London (found at Hamadan), ↓, gr. 17.13; ξ) London, ↓, gr. 16.85.

α–ξ are all struck from the same obverse die as No. 446 β and γ. This die shows increasing signs of wear and tear, as a glance at the illustrations on PLATE XXXIV will reveal. No two reverses of the specimens listed here are identical, excepting only η and ν, which are from the same die.

448. DIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram and symbol.

α) Hague (Whittall Coll.); β) London, ↓, gr. 8.42. PLATE XXXIV, 9.

449. DRACHM.

Similar. — Similar to the preceding.

London, ↓, gr. 3.30.

450. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram and symbol.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↓, gr. 1.78; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 1.99. PLATE XXXIV, 10.

451. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram and symbol.

α) Newell, ↓, gr. 0.59. PLATE XXXIV, 11; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 0.67; γ) Newell (from the Clark Coll., Urumia, Persia), ↙, gr. 0.61; δ) London, ↓.

452. HEMIOBOL.

Similar to No. 451. — ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ between club and quiver with bow. Above, 𐡀.

α) Newell, ↘ gr. 0.32. PLATE XXXIV, 12; β–γ) Berlin, ↘, gr. 0.31 and 0.35.

GROUP F

453. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 447, now in a very worn state. — Similar to No. 447. In l. field, 𐡀 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, B. PELLET in field.

Théodore Reinach Coll. PLATE XXXIV, 13.

454. TETRADRACHM.

From the same worn die as the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡀 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, 𐡁. PELLET in field between sceptre and back of throne.

London (Cunningham Coll.). PLATE XXXIV, 15.

455. TETRADRACHM.

From a new obverse die, but one of the same style as the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡀 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, 𐡁 or 𐡁. No pellet.

α) Munich. PLATE XXXIV, 14; β) Newell, ↘, gr. 16.90; γ) Newell, ↘, gr. 17.02.

456. TETRADRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, In l. field, 𐡀 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, 𐡐.

London, ↓. PLATE XXXIV, 16.

The silver coins of Group A are united by style, fabric and the presence of the characteristic monogram 𐡀, accompanied—except on the tiny half-obol—by the monogram ⊕. That the stater No. 428, despite its total lack of monogram, belongs to this same group is suggested by its early style[5] and by its symbol, the forepart of a feeding horse. For it is to be noted that in the immediately succeeding Group B, this curious symbol is accompanied throughout by those same two monograms. Hence, it is beyond question that all the coins listed under Nos. 428–437, inclusive, belong to the same mint and to practically the same period. The slightly earlier style of Nos. 428–432 suggests their precedence over Nos. 433–437.

With Group B, the feeding-horse symbol becomes a regular feature of the coinage. On the very smallest denominations it is sometimes lacking, probably because of the exiguity of space at the die-cutter's disposal. On No. 430 (PLATE XXXIII, 3) its place had been taken by an ear of grain, as appropriate for the fertile districts of Media as is the feeding horse.[6] It is this latter symbol which assures us that the mint of these, and of the succeeding coins, must be Ecbatana, the capital and metropolis of Media. The symbol cannot be the signet of a magistrate for it appears on the coins of our mint from its acquisition by Seleucus until towards the close of the reign of Seleucus II, some eighty years later. At that time, as we shall see, its place is taken by a horse's head which, for another eighty-odd years, continues to appear on the coins until late in the reign of Demetrius I.[7] These symbols, then, must represent real mint-marks and thus have some direct reference to the district, Media, in which they were struck. For does not Polybius state, X, 27, "Media is the most notable principality in Asia, both in the extent of its territory and in the number and excellence of the men, and also of the horses it produces. It supplies nearly the whole of Asia with these animals, the royal stud farms being intrusted to the Medes owing to the excellence of the pastures", and again, V, 44, 1, "For all the royal herds of horses are in charge of the Medes"? Strabo, XI, 13, 7 says that Media "is an exceptionally good *horse-pasturing* country; and a certain meadow there is called *Horse-pasturing* . . . and in the time of the Persians it is said that fifty thousand mares were pastured in it and that these herds belonged to the king . . . Further, we call the grass that makes the best food for horses by the special name *Medic*, from the fact that it abounds there." Other ancient writers make similar statements, which may best be summed

[5] It is similar to some earlier issues of Babylon and to certain staters of Sidon illustrated in the author's *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, Plate IV, Nos. 4, 8–10, 13, 17, 20—all struck between 315 and 309 B. C.

[6] Cf. Strabo, XI, 13, 7.

[7] See also Imhoof-Blumer, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 176.

up in the words of Gen. P. M. Sykes in his *History of Persia*, p. 121, where he states "In dealing with Media it is not proposed to make special reference to its products, since these have already been described for the whole of Persia: but an exception must be made in the case of its horses, which were famous throughout Asia. Their grazing grounds[7a] were chiefly in the Zagros range, and the breed, which has been made famous by Herodotus, Arrian, Ammianus Marcellinus and other writers, was termed Nisaean. These horses were dun, grey, or white, and were universally regarded as unrivalled for speed, endurance, and beauty. The leading part played by the cavalry in Median battles was due to the possession of thousands of good remounts."

In view of these very definite hints from classic authors, it is somewhat surprising that modern scholars have not shown more unanimity in assigning the long series of Alexandrine and Seleucid coins bearing the forepart of a feeding horse to Ecbatana. Earlier writers[8] attributed all to Alexandria Troas, to which mint indeed a series of Seleucid and late Alexandrine coins belong which have for symbol the *complete* figure of a feeding horse.[9] Müller[10] attributes the coins to Larissa on the Orontes in Syria, and in this he is followed by Babelon.[11] As long ago as 1878, Percy Gardner recognized the truth of the matter and in his introduction to the British Museum Catalogue of the coins of *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, pp. xxxi–xxxii, says "I have already mentioned a large class of coins, existing both in silver and copper, whereon a feeding horse appears standing beside the omphalos on which Apollo is seated. These pieces were issued by the earlier Seleucid kings, and M. Müller claims them for the mint of Larissa in Syria. The reason which prevents me from accepting this attribution is the following: all the silver and copper coins of this class in the British Museum, so far as their source can be traced, seem to have been brought from Media, from the neighbourhood of the city of Ecbatana. Silver coins are often dug up far from their place of mintage, but copper coins very seldom; whence it appears likely that the whole class was issued in the far East, perhaps in the neighbourhood of the Nisaean Plains, where were the huge herds of horses belonging to the Eastern kings." This should have been the end of the matter, as any honest attempt at refutation proves to be as unsupported by real evidence as it is unwise in judgment. A definitely retrograde step was made when Imhoof-Blumer,[12] without even attempting to refute Gardner's well-founded reasons, assigned the coins in question to Babylon or Seleucia on the Tigris. The very fact that this long and unbroken series of coins will in no wise fit in with the equally numerous pieces which the Swiss scholar had correctly assigned to Babylon, ought to have warned him of the untenability of his position. Within a very short time

[7a] Cf. also, R. Hanslik, in Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. 17, pp. 712–3.

[8] Sestini, *Letteri Numismatici*, VI, p. 27, No. 1. Mionnet, *Description*, etc., Vol. I, p. 521, No. 159; Supplement, Vol. III, p. 198, No. 192. *Numismatique des rois grecques*, Pl. XIII, 3, p. 22 and Pl. XIV, 3, p. 23.

[9] Sir George Macdonald in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, pp. 92–116.

[10] *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, p. 290.

[11] *Les monnaies des rois Séleucides*, etc., Introd. pp. iii and xxxvi.

[12] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, pp. 14–15.

as good a scholar as Six came out[13] in support of Gardner's viewpoint. It was therefore something like sheer perversity that later induced Imhoof-Blumer again and yet more strongly to asseverate,[14] without either new evidence or adequate proof, the supposed Babylonian origin of the coins. Entirely aside from evidence based on an intensive study of style, fabric, types and the issues of other Seleucid mints, the mere passage of time brings more and more support to Gardner's thesis. Whilst the tetradrachms of our series are unearthed from furthest Persia to Greece itself (where the endless ramifications of trade, or returning veterans and travellers doubtless carried them), the fractional coins, especially the silver obols and the innumerable copper pieces, almost invariably reach us from northern Iran, i. e. from Azerbaijan, from Hammadan and from Teheran.[15] Throughout our catalogue, whenever ascertainable, the provenance of individual specimens will be found carefully noted. The accumulation of these notes speaks in no uncertain terms for the Median origin of our coins, and if of Media, then certainly of its most flourishing and most important city in Greek times—the metropolis as well as the military and administrative capital, Ecbatana.

Groups C and D continue the preceding coinage, but now with some new monograms of officials, still associated, though, with the characteristic 𐤑 and the feeding horse. These last two, only, are found on the coins of Group E. Here, however, on the reverses of No. 447 and on some of the accompanying fractional pieces a new form of mint-mark appears in the shape of a tiny pellet placed in the field above the left shoulder of Zeus. Group E is also signalized by the appearance of a new die-cutter. His handiwork, particularly noticeable on the tetradrachms, is neater, smaller, more compact than heretofore, as well as finer in quality and workmanship (PLATE XXXIV, 4–9). The earliest issue of the tetradrachm No. 446 (PLATE XXXIV, 3) still employs an old obverse die, now somewhat worn, which we have first met on No. 443 (PLATE XXXIII, 20–21). The new obverse die used for Nos. 446 and 447 had a remarkable life, for we find it associated with no less than fourteen different reverse dies in Group E alone. It then continues to

[13] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVII, 1897, p. 219.

[14] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, pp. 172–177.

[15] Many of the specimens in the writer's collection were sent him directly from Teheran, or came to him in the Clark collection formed in Azerbaijan, or from a collection formed in Persia which had been sent to a Frankfort dealer and later secured by the writer. In 1923, through the great kindness of Dr. Lederer, the writer was enabled to study a large collection of Seleucid silver and copper coins formed entirely in northern Persia. Other specimens were brought back by Dr. McDowell from his recent numismatic travels in Persia and the provenance of these particular specimens are all carefully recorded. There were many specimens in M. Dayet's collection formed during the time he was secretary for the French Legation in Teheran. The late Mr. Endicott described to the writer three specimens in the possession of the French Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, which this gentleman had obtained in Teheran. Other specimens from excavations and chance finds in Persia are now preserved in the national collection in Teheran. The author also acquired the Seleucid portion of the large collection of coins formed during a long residence in northern Persia by General Starosselsky, former commander of the Persian Cossacks. The tickets accompanying No. 437 β–ρ, in the Berlin cabinet, state that two of these coins were included in a lot of twenty-four similar pieces acquired in Kermanshah. Prokesch-Osten, *Inedita meiner Sammlung autonomer altgriechishen Münzen*, Vienna, 1859, p. 10, states that in one year some sixty of these obols reached him *aus dem höheren Asien, meist aus Teheran.*

be used, now in a very worn state, for Nos. 453 and 454 (PLATE XXXIV, 13 and 15) of the succeeding Group F.

This latter group continues the use of the pellet mark on some of its coins (Nos. 453 and 454), but now adds an additional letter or monogram to the accustomed 𐡀 and feeding horse. At the moment, we are hardly in a position to define just how long the coinage of Series I may have lasted. That it covered many years is evident from the progress of style, the large number of varieties and the great wear exhibited by some of its dies. A period of some eight years' duration cannot be far from the truth. Two of its specimens (Nos. 434 α and 447 κ) turned up in the Angora Hoard[16] believed to have been buried about 295 B. C., thus furnishing us with a date *ante quem* for the coinage of these pieces. As both coins are almost uncirculated, they were probably thesaurized and buried not long after they had seen the light of day.

In passing, it may be noted that Series I is better provided with gold staters, and infinitely better provided with fractional denominations than any of the issues which we have here studied from the sister mints of Seleucia, Babylon and Susa. This fact speaks volumes not only for the size and importance of Ecbatana, but for the activity of its commercial life and the importance of the trade which now flowed along the great east-west highway passing through the city.

SERIES II, *c.* 303–293 B. C.

GROUP A

457. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus, of the same style and character as on Nos. 446–447, 453–456, seated to l. on high-backed throne. In l. field, HORNED HEAD OF HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ΔΙ.

α) Vienna, ↓, gr. 17.05. PLATE XXXV, 1; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 17.09. PLATE XXXV, 2. α and β are struck from the same reverse die.

458. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol and letters. The symbol here faces to the r.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓. PLATE XXXV, 3; β) London, ↓.

459. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of Alexander to r., wearing elephant's skin. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged and draped victory standing to l., holds *stylis* in l. and wreath in her outstretched r. In l. field, HORNED HEAD OF HORSE to l.; in inner field, 𐡀.

[16] S. P. Noe. *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, No. 51.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.05 (cf. Svoronos, Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, Vol. II, No. 98, Pl. i, 32); β) London, ↓, gr. 5.88; γ) London, ↓, gr. 5.72; δ) London, ↓, gr. 5.55; ε) Dr. McDowell (from Teheran), ↓, gr. 5.29; ϛ) Newell (Starosselsky Coll.), ↙, gr. 5.43; ζ) Newell, ↓, gr. 5.59. PLATE XXXV, 4; η) Dr. McDowell (purchased in Teheran), ↓, gr. 5.31; θ) London (from The Punjab), ↓, gr. 8.52. PLATE XXXV, 5.

460. GOLD DOUBLE DARIC.

Similar head of Alexander to r., as on the preceding coin.

No inscription. Victory to l. as on the preceding coin. In l. field, HORNED HEAD OF HORSE to r.; in inner field, ΔΙ.

α) Paris (Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Introd., p. v, Fig. 2. Cf. Svoronos, *loc. cit.* Pl. i, 30), gr. 16.08; β) Berlin (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. XII, 1884, p. 3, Pl. vii, 1), gr. 16.60. PLATE XXXV, 6; γ) Löbbecke Coll. (*Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, Pl. ii, 1. Only the reverse is here illustrated), gr. 16.63; δ) London (Hill, *Greek Coins of Arabia, etc.*, p. 191, No. 62, Pl. xxiii, 1), ↗, gr. 16.58. PLATE XXXV, 7. Note that Jameson Cat. No. 1781, Pl. xci; Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1413, as well as the "daric" in the British Museum, *loc. cit.* p. 192, No. 63, are all modern forgeries.[18]

461. SILVER LION STATER.

Ba'al, nude to waist, seated to l. on *diphros*. In l. field, HORNED HEAD OF HORSE to r. Circle of dots.

Lion advancing to l. Above, ANCHOR. In the exergue, ΔΙ. Circle of dots.

London (Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. 189, No. 51, Pl. xxii, 10. This coin came from Gen. Cunningham's Coll.), ←, gr. 16.58. PLATE XXXV, 8.

462. SILVER LION HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same letters.

London (Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. 190, No. 54, Pl. xxii, 11. This coin came from Gen. Cunningham's Coll.), ↘, gr. 2.00. PLATE XXXV, 9.

GROUP B

463. STATER.

Head of Athena, with flowing locks, to r., wearing triple-crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged and draped Nike to l., as before. In l. field, 𐤀 above inverted ANCHOR. At Nike's feet, 𐤌.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.435. PLATE XXXV, 10.

464. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., as on No. 457. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Seated Zeus, of the same style and description as on No. 457. In l. field, 𐤀 above inverted ANCHOR. Beneath the throne, 𐤌. Circle of dots.

Newell, ↓, gr. 16.78. PLATE XXXV, 11.

465. DIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol and monograms.

Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. II, No. 3483, Pl. 131, 1), ↓, gr. 8.47. PLATE XXXV, 12.

[18] Cf. G. F. Hill, *Greek Coins of Arabia, etc.*, pp. cxlv and clvii and footnote.

466. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↘, gr. 4.30; β) Hartford (Morgan Memorial); γ) Newell (Armenak Hoard), ↘, gr. 4.09; δ) Newell (from Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.), ↘, gr. 4.09. PLATE XXXV, 13.
β, γ and δ are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

467. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol and monograms. Sometimes there is a PELLET to r. of sceptre.

α) Naville V, June 1923, No. 1446, Pl. xliii, gr. 1.58; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 1.41; γ) Newell (from the Clark Coll., Urumia), ↘, gr. 1.99; δ) Newell, ↘, gr. 1.72; ε) Newell, ↓, gr. 2.03. PLATE XXXV, 14.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies. δ and ε are from another pair of dies.

468. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡀 above inverted ANCHOR. Beneath throne, obscure monogram (intended for 𐡌 ?).

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), but see No. 469, specimens ρ–ι; β) Newell (= Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 409), ↙, gr. 0.66. PLATE XXXV, 15; γ) Hess Sale 208, Dec. 1931, No. 367, Pl. 7, gr. 0.65; δ) Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. II, No. 2137, Pl. 82, gr. 0.56.

469. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. In l. field, 𐡀 above inverted ANCHOR. Nothing beneath throne.

α) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 943, Pl. xxx, gr. 0.64; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 745, Pl. 25, gr. 0.59; γ) Newell (from the Clark Coll., Urumia), ↘, gr. 0.64; δ) Newell, ↘, gr. 0.64. PLATE XXV, 16; ε) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), gr. 0.64; ρ–ι) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll. Monogram beneath throne (?), or blank), ↘, ↓, ↙, gr. 0.71, 0.66, 0.62, 0.59.

GROUP C

470. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., as on No. 464. Circle of dots. — ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Seated Zeus of same type and style as on No. 464. In l. field, horizontally placed ANCHOR, above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Above Zeus' r. arm, PELLET. Beneath throne, 𐡀. Circle of dots.

Berlin (v. Rauch Coll.), ↓. PLATE XXXV, 17.

471. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ANCHOR upright. Beneath throne, O.

α) Newell (= Egger Sale XL, May 1912, No. 750), ↙, gr. 0.41; β) Newell (from Persia), ↘, gr. 0.44. PLATE XXXV, 18.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

GROUP D

472. STATER.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Nike standing to l. as on No. 463. In l. field, 𐤕 and ΣΩ above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l.

Vienna, Schottenstift, gr. 8.48. See Albert Hübl, *Die Münzensammlung des Stiftes Schotten in Wien*, Vol. II, p. 98, No. 1002. Cf. also Müller, No. 1352, who describes the coin when it was in the collection of Franz von Timoni, on whose death the coin went to the Schottenstift. Hübl, apparently erroneously, read the magistrate's letters as ΕΛΥ. Müller, Vol. I, p. 290, note 26, discusses this very piece, which he himself saw, and states that the coin was somewhat worn in the lower portion of the reverse, thus probably accounting for the difference of opinion as to the exact form of the letters. Certainly ΣΩ, as read by Müller, fits the remaining coins of our series better than the ΕΛΥ of Hübl and of the Welzl Catalogue, p. 110, No. 2483, where the same coin is described.

473. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. as on No. 470. Circle of dots.

Same inscription, type and style as on No. 470. In l. field, 𐤕 above ANCHOR (horizontally placed) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE l. Beneath throne, ΣΩ. Circle of dots.

α) Newell (from Teheran), ↓, gr. 17.04; β) Newell (Armenak Hoard), ↓, gr. 17.00. PLATE XXXV, 19.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

474. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram, letters and symbols, except that the ANCHOR is here placed in an inverted position.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓. PLATE XXXV, 20.

475. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 473.

Similar to No. 473. In l. field, 𐤕 and 𐤊 above ANCHOR (horizontally placed) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ΣΩ.

α) Newell (Haynes), ↓, gr. 15.45; β) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. II, No. 3447, Pl. 128, 3), ↓, gr. 16.87; γ) Newell (Angora Hoard), ↘, gr. 16.95; δ) Saroglos Coll., Athens. PLATE XXXV, 21; ε) Hollscheck Coll., gr. 16.90; ζ) Paris. PLATE XXXV, 22; ζ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 519), ↙, gr. 17.11; η–θ) London, ↓; ι) Oxford (Davidson Coll.). PLATE XXXVI, 1; κ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 392, Pl. ix), ↓, gr. 17.07; λ) Saroglos Coll., Athens. PLATE XXXVI, 2; μ) Imhoof-Blumer Coll., from Ispahan. Cf. *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 15, No. 18, Pl. ii, 15), gr. 16.67; ν) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 742, gr. 17.11, Pl. 25.
β and γ are from the same obverse die (now much worn) as No. 473. δ and ε are from another pair of obverse and reverse dies. ζ, ζ, η, ι and μ are from still another obverse die.

476. DIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms, symbols and letters.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.265.

477. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms, symbols and letters.

Berlin (Konsul Strauss Coll.), ←.

478. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms, symbols and letters.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓.

479. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms, symbols and letters.

α) Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. II, No. 2131, Pl. 82), gr. 0.71. PLATE XXXVI, 3; β) Hess Sale 208, Dec. 1931, No. 366, Pl. 7, gr. 0.65; γ) Helbing Sale, Jan. 1930, No. 204, Pl. 9, gr. 0.70; δ) Newell (from the Clark Coll., Urumia), ↙, gr. 0.66; ε) Newell (from the Clark Coll., Urumia), ↙, gr. 0.63; ζ) Newell (= Egger Sale XL, May 1912, No. 750), ↙, gr. 0.63. PLATE XXXVI, 4; ζ) Newell, ↙, gr. 0.63; η) Newell, ↓, gr. 0.59.

At Ecbatana, there seem never to have been coined varieties of the Victory Series commemorating the triumph of Ipsus, such as we have found both at Susa (PLATE XXIII, 6–9) and at Persepolis (PLATE XXXII, 1–18). On the other hand, there does appear at Ecbatana, at just about this juncture, a special series of coins in gold, silver and bronze. Because of some of their types, and because on them—for the first time at our mint—there appear the personal symbols of Seleucus, the coins may have been struck to celebrate his Indian successes. In Nos. 457–459 (PLATE XXXV, 1–5) we have Alexandrine tetradrachms, drachms and bronze coins—still bearing the name of Alexander—but now with the symbol of the horned horse's head so peculiar to Seleucus. On the silver coins this symbol is accompanied by the new magistrate's letters ΔI, but on the bronze coins by the accustomed monogram 𐡀. Even if the latter had not located the entire issue at Ecbatana, we would still be constrained to assign the group to this mint because of the style and character of the die-cutting (particularly that of the reverses), which a glance at the plates will show to be identical with that found on the immediately preceding Nos. 446–456, PLATE XXXIV, 4–16. Evidently the same die-cutter as heretofore continued to be employed in the issue of Group A. Furthermore, the characteristic inverted die position is found in Nos. 457–459. The date of this issue is established by the types of the bronze coin (obverse, head of Alexander wearing elephant's skin; reverse, Nike to l.) which are identical, and therefore surely more or less contemporaneous with the similar coins which we have found were coined between 303 and 302 B. C. at Susa.[19]

Accompanying this Alexandrine issue, and bearing the same symbol of the horned horse's head and ΔI, comes an issue of gold double darics (PLATE XXXV, 6–7) with the types of the bronze coins, together with an issue (PLATE XXXV, 8–9) imitating the Babylonian silver lion staters. On these coins, however, the

[19] See above, Nos. 294–296 and the discussion on p. 112.

usual inverted die-position of the Ecbatana mint is not always followed, although symbol, types, and style associate Nos. 460–462 with Nos. 457–459. The presence of impressive gold coins, the use of the victory-type coupled with the head of Alexander in the elephant's skin, are all surely significant and connect these coins with the campaigns of Seleucus in the east where he had striven to emulate his former king and heroic ideal, Alexander the Great. This connection of ideas would be further strengthened if we were to assume that the horned horse's head commemorates not only Seleucus' own mount, but also the famous Bucephalus of Alexander who had so gloriously carried his royal master all the way from Macedonia, through the great battles of Chaeroneia, the Granicus, Issus, Arbela and the Hydaspis, only to die on the banks of the Indian Hyphasis where he was buried with solemn rites and had a great monument erected to his undying memory.[20]

The regular coinage continues with Group B still employing the name and types of Alexander (PLATE XXXV, 10–16). The usual feeding horse, obviously the special mark of the Ecbatana mint, is still missing, as on the preceding Group A, although now its place is taken by the ordinary symbol of Seleucus—the anchor. Accompanying this symbol is the characteristic monogram  , assuring us that we are still dealing with the issues of Ecbatana. The origin of our coins in that mint is further proclaimed by the identity of style and fabric with the preceding issues, and by the use of the inverted die position. The ephemeral issue of lion staters appears now to have ceased, unless indeed we were to transfer Nos. 318–321 from Susa to Ecbatana because of the monogram which these coins bear. The monogram beneath the Zeus throne on Nos. 464–467 has the form  , which is very close to the of the Susian lion staters just mentioned. Their style, too, is not very unlike that of Nos. 461–462. But as the monogram found on the Susian elephant-biga coins Nos. 316–317 is , and that of the lion staters Nos. 318–321, is —both therefore without the upright stroke so noticeable on the monogram of Nos. 464–467,—it would seem advisable to leave Nos. 318–321 at Susa where they have been placed.

Group C contains some miscellaneous pieces (PLATE XXXV, 17–18) which by their style appear to belong to this period. This same style is continued on the earliest coins of Group D (PLATE XXXV, 19–22) on which appears, once more, the feeding horse, combined with the anchor of Seleucus and the characteristic monogram  . Additional monograms and letters also make their appearance now; first ΣΩ alone (Nos. 472–474), then accompanied by the monogram  (Nos. 475–479). In the course of this latter issue, the details of design and style are slightly altered, probably denoting the presence of a new die-cutter. On PLATE XXXVI, 1 the lion's mane of Heracles' head-covering acquires more locks and these are depicted as more wavy than heretofore. On the reverses, the back to Zeus' throne rises well above the god's shoulders and is slightly different in shape; the legs of the throne are also different; there is a cushion on the throne seat; and the leaves of a

[20] On the horned horse's head as found on the coins of Seleucus, see Babelon, *loc. cit.* Introd., pp. xviii–xxv; Newell, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 76, *The Pergamene Mint under Philetaerus*, pp. 12–14.

wreath are to be seen distinctly above the forehead of Zeus. The practice of inverting the reverse die continues throughout this coinage.

At just what date Series II comes to a close cannot as yet be exactly determined. Its commencement is placed at about 303–302 B. C. by the presence of the bronze coin No. 459, and by the possible connection between the sudden appearance on the coins of Seleucus' personal badges (horned horse's head and anchor) and the great increase to his power and prestige from the Indian campaigns and the victory of Ipsus. If for the coinage of Nos. 457–479, we assign the somewhat arbitrary but certainly not impossible period of from eight to ten years, we shall probably be not far wrong in assuming that the close of Series II fell about 293 B. C. That the series could hardly have lasted beyond this date may be gathered from the fact that the latest coin of Ecbatana in the Angora Hoard was an example of No. 475. The probable burial date of the Angora Hoard, based on internal evidence, was in or around 295 B. C.

SERIES III, *c.* 293–280 B. C.

GROUP A

480. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. as on No. 475. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. on throne, as on No. 475. In l. field, 𐤕 and 𐤊 above ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ΣΩ. Circle of dots.

α) Newell (from Teheran), ↓, gr. 16.96; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.995. PLATE XXXVI, 5; γ) Newell, ↘, gr. 17.05; δ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2914, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 17.14; ε) Newell, ↓, gr. 17.28. PLATE XXXVI, 6; ϝ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 764, Pl. xviii), ↓, gr. 17.17; ζ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 752, Pl. 25 (= Collignon Coll., Feuardent Sale, Dec. 1919, No. 379, Pl. xix = Glendining Sale, March 1931, No. 1143), gr. 17.13. PLATE XXXVI, 7; η) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2913, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 17.13; θ) Newell (Haynes), ↓, gr. 16.25; ι) Cahn Sale 65, Oct. 1929, No. 251, Pl. 8 (= Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1032, Pl. 16, gr. 16.98, sic!), gr. 17.15; κ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.895. PLATE XXXVI, 8; λ) Egger Sale, XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 631, gr. 17.13; μ) Munich, ↓, gr. 16.95.

α, β, γ, δ and ε are from the same obverse die as No. 475 λ and ν, but now showing increasing wear until with δ and ε the die becomes scored with numerous cracks and other damages. ζ, η and θ are from another pair of dies. From this same obverse die, but other reverse dies, are also ϝ, ι, λ and μ.

481. DRACHM.

Head of young Heracles as on the preceding.

Seleucus, wearing horned helmet and flying *chlamys*, galloping to r. on horned horse. In the exergue, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two lines. In the field, ΣΩ, 𐤕 and 𐤊. Circle of dots.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.18. PLATE XXXVI, 9.

482. HEMIDRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

London (Macdonald in *Zeitschr. für Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 89, No. 2, Pl. iv, 2), ↓, gr. 1.94. PLATE XXXVI, 10.

483. HEMIDRACHM.
From the same obverse die as the preceding.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. as on No. 480. In l. field, 𐡀 and 𐡊 above ANCHOR (placed horizontally) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ΣΩ. Circle of dots.

Newell, ↙, gr. 2.01. PLATE XXXVI, 11.

GROUP B

484. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles to r. as on the preceding. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. on high-backed throne. In l. field, 𐡉 above ANCHOR (placed horizontally) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ΣΩ.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↘, gr. 17.05. PLATE XXXVI, 12. From the same obverse die as No. 480 *κ*.

485. TETRADRACHM.
Head of young Heracles, of slightly different style, to r. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus seated to l., as on the preceding. In l. field, 𐡀 above inverted ANCHOR. Beneath throne, ΣΩ. Circle of dots.

α) Newell (from Teheran), ↓, gr. 17.04. PLATE XXXVI, 13; *β*) Vienna.

486. OBOL.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol, monogram and letters.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten); *β*) Newell (Hazlitt Coll., Sotheby Sale, July 1909, No. 57), ↘, gr. 0.61. PLATE XXXVI, 14.

GROUP C

487. TETRADRACHM.
Head of Heracles to r., as on No. 484. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[illegible]ΣΣ in the exergue. In l. field, 𐡊 above ANCHOR (horizontally placed) above f[illegible]part of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath t[illegible]one, 𐡌. Circle of dots.

α) Newell (from Baghdad), ↗, gr. 16.80; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. i, 2.), ↙, gr. 16.85; γ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2915, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 17.16. PLATE XXXVI, 15; δ) Newell, ↘, gr. 17.08. PLATE XXXVI, 16; ε) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 728, Pl. 13, gr. 17.05; ζ) American Numismatic Society, ↙, gr. 17.03.

α, β, γ and ζ are from the same obverse and reverse dies; δ is from the same obverse but another reverse die.

488. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbols.

Paris (Babelon, *loc. cit.*, No. 8, Pl. i, 5), gr. 4.00.

489. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to No. 487.

α) London (Late Collector, Sotheby Sale, May 1900, No. 417, Pl. viii), ↑, gr. 1.91. PLATE XXXVII, 2; β) London, ↓, gr. 2.02. PLATE XXXVII, 1.

490. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, ANCHOR (horizontally placed) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ⋈.

London (Late Collector, Sotheby Sale, May 1900, No. 417), ↖, gr. 0.65. PLATE XXXVII, 3.

491. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Heracles similar to No. 487.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus seated to l. on high-backed throne. His hair in a long queue, instead of in a roll as heretofore. In l. field, 𐤟 above ANCHOR (horizontally placed) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ⋈.

α) Jameson Coll., No. 990, Pl. li, gr. 17.22; β) Saroglos Coll., Athens. PLATE XXXVII, 4. α and β are from the same pair of dies.

492. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (to be read outwardly) on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus to l. as on the preceding. In l. field, 𐤟 above inverted ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ⊠.

In commerce, 1912. PLATE XXXVII, 5.

GROUP D

493. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Heracles, of slightly different style, to r. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Zeus seated to l. as on Nos. 491–492. In l. field, 𐤟 above inverted ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, Θ. Circle of dots.

α) Newell, ↙, gr. 17.17. PLATE XXXVII, 6; β) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 727, Pl. 12, gr. 17.10; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1416, Pl. 50 (Yakountchikoff Coll., No. 94, Pl. vii), gr. 17.23.
α and β are from the same reverse die; β and γ are from the same obverse die.

494. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbols but now inscribed ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Newell (Bement Coll., Naville Sale VI, Jan. 1924, No. 768, Pl. 26 = Egger Sale XL, May 1912, No. 748, Pl. xiv), ↘, gr. 2.11. PLATE XXXVII, 7.

495. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, also inscribed ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Oxford (Davidson Coll.). PLATE XXXVII, 8.

496. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 493.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Zeus seated to l. as on No. 493. In l. field, 𐡀 above inverted ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, 𐡀. Circle of dots.

Istanbul (Tell Halaaf Hoard), ↓, gr. 16.36. PLATE XXXVII, 9.

497. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Zeus to l. as on No. 496. In l. field, 𐡀 above inverted ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, 𐡌.

α) Newell, ↓, gr. 17.08; β) Copenhagen, gr. 17.06. PLATE XXXVII, 10.
α and β are from the same obverse die, which had previously been used for No. 496.

498. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ is to be read outwardly, and the monogram beneath the throne has the form, 𐡌. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is again present in the exergue.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.75. PLATE XXXVII, 11; β) Newell (Stettner *Lagerverz.* I, 1938, No. 2005), ↙, gr. 16.70.

499. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. wearing earring, necklace, and triple-crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (reading outwardly) on the r. Nike stands to l., holding *stylis* in l. and wreath in outstretched r. In l. field, 𐡀 above inverted ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Behind Nike, 𐡌.

Newell, ↓, gr. 8.55. PLATE XXXVII, 12.

500. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to No. 498.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (reading outwardly) on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus on throne to l. In l. field,  above inverted ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne,  . Circle of dots.

α) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 131, No. 10), gr. 15.92; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 6, Pl. i, 4), gr. 17.00; γ) London (brought from Persia by Sir Grant Duff), ↓, gr. 17.11, PLATE XXXVII, 13; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.92; ε) Istanbul (Tell Halaaf Hoard), ↓, gr. 15.12.

501. BRONZE UNIT.
Winged head of Medusa to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below bull butting to r. Above, ANCHOR. In the exergue, .

Newell, ↓, gr. 3.68. PLATE XXXVII, 14.

502. BRONZE HALF.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol and monogram.

α) London (Gardner, No. 67), gr. 2.07; β) Mr. Martin Pollack, ↘, gr. 2.14; γ) Newell (from Persia), ←, gr. 1.77; δ) Newell, ↓, gr. 1.97; ε) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2860), →, gr. 1.58. PLATE XXXVII, 15; ζ) Newell, →, gr. 2.39; ζ) Berlin, ←, gr. 2.10.

GROUP E

503. TETRADRACHM.
Head of Heracles, of somewhat different style, to r. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. In l. field,  above inverted ANCHOR. Beneath throne, . Circle of dots.

Newell, ←, gr. 16.57. PLATE XXXVII, 16.

504. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, BA above ANCHOR (horizontally placed) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne,  .

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 753, Pl. 26, gr. 16.64. PLATE XXXVII, 17; β) Istanbul (Tell Halaaf Hoard), ↗, gr. 16.28.

505. HEMIDRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same letters, symbols and monogram.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↗, gr. 1.895. PLATE XXXVII, 18.

506. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots. Same inscription. Zeus seated to l. His legs are parallel. In l. field, inverted ANCHOR above $\overline{A}$. Beneath throne, $\overline{A}$. Circle of dots.

α) Cambridge (Lewis Coll.); β) Athens. PLATE XXXVIII, 1.
α and β are from the same obverse die.

507. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol and monograms.

Found near Nehavend, ↑, gr. 4.12. PLATE XXXVIII, 2.

Series III, Group A (PLATE XXXVI, 5–11), continues the final coinage of Series II, is still supervised by the same three magistrates and employs the same die-cutters. The only difference now is that the anachronistic inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ has finally been replaced by the more timely ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Imhoof-Blumer has supposed[21] that the two groups were actually coined contemporaneously. The fact, however, that the obverse die used for No. 475 λ and ν was also employed—now *always* showing a much greater degree of wear—for No. 480 α–ε inclusive, militates against his supposition in this particular instance. In the succeeding groups B and C, we actually do find both Alexander's and Seleucus' name used simultaneously on the issues of our mint.

Alongside of fractional pieces with the usual Alexander types (No. 483, PLATE XXXVI, 11), there now took place a special coinage of drachms and hemidrachms (Nos. 481–482, PLATE XXXVI, 9–10) with a new reverse type: Seleucus, wearing a horned helmet, galloping to right on a horse also provided with horns. That we have before us a representation of Seleucus himself, rather than of the divine Alexander, is made evident by the rider's horned helmet which, as Imhoof-Blumer has already pointed out,[22] we know from other coins was especially affected by Seleucus. Besides, the horn peculiar to Alexander is that of the ram because of his supposed divine descent from Zeus-Ammon. Small as are the representations before us, the horns which rise from the helmet appear clearly to be those of a bull. If the date here proposed for the opening of Series III, namely *c.* 294–293 B. C., be correct, then this interesting type may refer to the successful seizure by Seleucus of the Cilician possessions of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Group B is closely connected with A by the further use of an old obverse die in No. 484 (PLATE XXXVI, 12), and by the continued presence of the magistrate's letters ΣΩ beneath the throne. That the tetradrachm and obol Nos. 485–486 (PLATE XXXVI, 13–14), both again bearing the name of Alexander, come at this point rather than in Series II, is proved by certain peculiarities noticeable in the details of the reverse design which had not yet appeared in earlier series. A change

[21] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 172.
[22] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 15.

in the style of Heracles' head is also apparent, doubtless due to the work of a new die-cutter. On these coins, too, the feeding-horse symbol is omitted, while the anchor-symbol is placed in the inverted position.

Group C is characterized by the appearance of the new magistrate's monogram beneath the throne of Zeus. Again we have coins struck both in the name of Seleucus and of Alexander. The obverse dies follow in design those of Nos. 480 and 484. The same is true of the reverses, except that of the Alexander tetradrachm No. 491 (PLATE XXXVII, 4), where modifications take place in the form of the throne legs, and where Zeus no longer wears his hair in a heavy roll at the back of his neck but in a long queue instead. The usual feeding-horse and anchor symbols appear throughout, but the accustomed monogram is lacking on all coins except the Alexander tetradrachm No. 491 and the Seleucus tetradrachm No. 492 (PLATE XXXVII, 5). This latter piece is remarkable in that the king's name is so placed that, like the title in the exergue, it runs counter clockwise and so must be read upwards.

Group D continues, in general, the style of the preceding issue but with increasing modifications in the rendering of Heracles' head; while the reverses are more and more closely assimilated to the Alexander tetradrachm No. 491 (PLATE XXXVII, 4). Another magistrate's monogram, variously rendered or , and placed beneath the throne, marks the new group. The anchor and feeding-horse symbols are invariably present, and they are accompanied by on all varieties except the stater and tetradrachm, Nos. 499 and 500. While the tetradrachms bear only the name of Seleucus, the rare fractions Nos. 494 and 495 have the name of Alexander. The unusual practice of placing the name of Seleucus so that it runs counter clockwise with the title, and must be read from the outside, is carried over from the last coin, No. 492, in Group C. Thus far, throughout Series III, the reverse dies of the tetradrachms, almost without exception, maintain the usual inverted position customary at Ecbatana. It is noticeable, however, that on the small silver fractions and on the bronze coins, other positions than the inverted one sometimes occur.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the issues emanating from the mint at Ecbatana has been the large number of fractional silver coins. Beginning with Series III, we may observe a distinct falling off, not only in the number of varieties but also in the quantity of actual specimens of these small coins which have reached us. Their place is now partially taken by a coinage of bronze, in two denominations. Henceforth no silver below the drachm size is known (barring an ephemeral issue under Seleucus II) until we reach the early years of Antiochus III's reign. The types chosen for the new issue of bronze coins, Nos. 501–502 (PLATE XXXVII, 14–15), are the Medusa head and the butting bull. They are identical with a coinage struck at Seleucia on the Tigris (Series II, Group Q, Nos. 117–119, PLATE XII, 1–3) about 284–283 B. C. A similar coinage was also issued at about this time from the mint at Susa (No. 341, PLATE XXV, 19). The Ecbatana pieces differ from the similar Babylonian and Susian ones, however, in style and in having the

characteristic anchor and monogram 𐡀, neither of which are found on the coins of the sister mints.

Group E is marked throughout by a considerable diversity of style, but is held together by the invariable presence of the new magistrate's monogram 𐡕 beneath the throne (PLATES XXXVII, 16–18, XXXVIII, 1–2). The anchor symbol is also invariably present, but we find the feeding horse only on Nos. 504 and 505 (PLATE XXXVII, 17–18). Our old friend 𐡀 is nowhere visible on these coins. For the reverses of Nos. 503–504, the die-cutter took as his model some such coin as PLATE XXXVI, 1, or 5–8 on the same plate, as may be seen by comparing the head of Zeus and the back and legs of the throne. On all the coins of Group E, the name of Seleucus is again to be read in the normal fashion.

Unfortunately, we possess but few records of the die-positions found in Group E; but for such as we have, not once is the reverse die inverted—thus far almost the invariable rule at Ecbatana. This fact, coupled with the slight change in style of Group E and the invariable absence of the customary monogram 𐡀, suggests the thought that Nos. 503–507 may not have been coined at Ecbatana at all but in some neighboring city or province. As, for the present, this possibility can neither be proved nor disproved, the coins have been left among the issues of the Median capital. An attribution to Ecbatana seems to be postulated by the presence of the characteristic forepart of a feeding horse on Nos. 504–505, while Group E seems to be connected with preceding and certain issues of Ecbatana by the central element of the circular monogram on No. 503, namely 𐡌, which also occurs on Nos. 497, 499, 500, while a slight variant, 𐡍, occurs on Nos. 493–495 and 498. The absence of 𐡀 may be accounted for by supposing that its owner had now, finally, terminated his long incumbency of some thirty-odd years as chief magistrate of our mint.[22a]

ANTIOCHUS I

280–261 B. C.

SERIES I, *c.* 280–278 B. C., or LATER

508. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles in lion's skin to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (to be read outwardly) on the r. Zeus, similar in style to No. 506 but with legs crossed, enthroned to l. In l. field, 𐡊 above forepart of LION to l. Beneath throne, 𐡕.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↙, gr. 16.72. PLATE XXXVIII, 3.

509. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol and monograms. The king's name, however, is to be read inwardly.

α) Newell, ↘, gr. 3.54; *β*) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↘, gr. 4.09. PLATE XXXVIII, 4.

[22a] For a further discussion of these coins see pp. 253–5.

510. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. King's name is illegible on the only known specimen. In l. field, Ϙ above inverted ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, Α. Circle of dots.

Vienna (No. 10267. Among the Alexander coins). PLATE XXXVIII, 5.

511. DRACHM.

Same obverse die as No. 509.

Similar to No. 509, with Ϙ above forepart of LION to l. Beneath throne, Α.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 12, No. 4, Pl. lxiii, 22), gr. 3.99. PLATE XXXVIII, 6.

512. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 510.

Similar to No. 510, with ⍋ (re-engraved over an earlier monogram, Ϙ ?) above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ΙΣ. The king's name is to be read outwardly.

Vienna, ↖, gr. 16.95. PLATE XXXVIII, 7.

513. DRACHM.

Same die as Nos. 509, and 511.

Similar to No. 511 with ⍋ above forepart of LION to l. Beneath throne, Α.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.05. PLATE XXXVIII, 8.

514. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, Λ/ above forepart of LION to l. Beneath throne, ⊬.

Paris. PLATE XXXVIII, 9.

515. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In l. field, forepart of HORNED ELEPHANT to l. Beneath throne, ⍋.

α) Newell, ↙, gr. 4.21; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 837, Pl. 28 (= Late Collector, Sotheby Sale, May 1900, No. 422, Pl. ix), gr. 4.22. PLATE XXXVIII, 10.

The coinage of Seleucus, described on pp. 180–181, is continued under Antiochus I with types unchanged but in the name of the new ruler. The issue continues for a time to be supervised by the magistrate Α, and this fact serves to connect it with the final group (E) under Seleucus I. The style, too, is very similar, as can be seen by comparing, for instance, the Zeus figure as it appears on Nos. 1–2 and 3–8 on PLATE XXXVIII. But curiously enough, on the new issue (Nos. 508–9), the forepart of a lion replaces as symbol in the field the more characteristic anchor and forepart of feeding horse of earlier coinages. Were it not for the connection with

the immediately preceding issue presented by the monogram Ⱥ and by the obvious continuity of style, one might hesitate to assign these lion-marked coins to the same mint. But, fortunately, proof is furnished that this must be so. The succeeding Nos. 510–513 (PLATE XXXVIII, 5–8), connected with Nos. 508–509 by monogram, style and the identity of obverse die between all the drachms, offer the peculiarity that while the drachms continue to be marked with the forepart of a lion, the accompanying tetradrachms (certainly associated with the drachms by their common monograms ⊙Ξ, Ⱥ, and ⍋) bear instead the more customary anchor and feeding horse. We have no other recourse, then, but to assign all of these coins to the mint at Ecbatana. There may be some connection between this sudden though ephemeral appearance of the lion on the coins of Ecbatana and the famous "lion of Hamadan," that battered colossal stone figure[23] whose outlines and stance irresistibly remind one of those other well-known Greek lions of Chaeronea and of Amphipolis.

These tetradrachms and drachms of Ecbatana, bearing the types of Alexander the Great and the name of Antiochus, obviously correspond in point of time with similar tetradrachms which inaugurated the coin issues of Antiochus I at Seleucia on the Tigris, Nos. 136 to 139. Associated by style with Nos. 508–513 are the two drachms Nos. 514 and 515, PLATE XXXVIII, 9–10. The first of these is still marked by the symbol, forepart of lion; the other, by the forepart of a horned elephant. We should hesitate to assign this last coin to Ecbatana were it not for community of style between it and the preceding pieces, and because its monogram ⍋ occurs also on Nos. 512 and 513.

SERIES II, *c.* 278–261 B. C.

GROUP A

516. TETRADRACHM.
Diademed portrait, with youthful features, of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, holds three arrows in outstretched r., rests l. upon bow. In upper l. field, ⍋ above ⊠. At his feet, forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l.

Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, XLVI, 1913, p. 175, No. 19, Pl. i, 10, gr. 16.95. PLATE XXXVIII, 11.

GROUP B

517. TETRADRACHM.
Older head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding. In upper l. field, ⍋. Beneath Apollo's r. arm, ⊠. At his feet, forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

Vienna, ✓, gr. 16.77. PLATE XXXVIII, 12.

[23] For photographic reproductions, description of its present appearance and references to ancient Arab historians who make mention of the lion, see A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 159–162.

518. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the lower monogram is .

α) London (Gardner, p. 9, No. 21), ↓, gr. 16.76; β) Newell (from Persia), ↓, gr. 16.93. PLATE XXXVIII, 13.

519. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the two preceding coins.

Similar to the preceding, but the lower monogram is  .

α) Berlin (Fox Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, XLVI, 1913, p. 174, No. 9, Pl. i, 5), ↓, gr. 17.20. PLATE XXXVIII, 14; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.91. PLATE XXXVIII, 15.

520. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus, with elderly features, to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo, nude, standing to l., holds bow in outstretched r. and arrow in l. In inner l. field, above Apollo's arm, (?); below arm, above above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), →; β) Athens. PLATE XXXVIII, 16.

521. BRONZE TRIPLE (?).

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. The monogram above Apollo's arm is sometimes , sometimes it has the form . Beneath Apollo's l. arm, above above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 425, No. 19; *Choix, etc.*, Pl. vi, 213 = *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 175, No. 20, Pl. i, 12), ↑, gr. 12.41, countermarked with a horned horse's head to r. in an oblong square; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓; γ) Newell, same countermark as on α, ↑, gr. 7.51 (piece broken out); δ) Newell, same countermark as on the preceding, ←, gr. 10.12. PLATE XXXIX, 1; ε) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll., →.

522. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 520.

Similar to No. 520, and with the same three monograms and the same symbol.

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll., ↙; β–δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑ or ↓; ε) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ←, gr. 3.25; ζ–η) Berlin, bearing as countermark a horned horse's head to r. in an oblong square (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 175, No. 21, Pl. i, 11 = *Monnaies grecques*, p. 425, No. 20), gr. 4.10; (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↖, gr. 3.96; (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 3.89; θ) Newell (Clark Coll., Urumia), →, gr. 3.84; ι) Newell, ←, gr. 3.78; κ) Newell, ↘, gr. 3.85. PLATE XXXIX, 2; λ) Newell, ←, gr. 2.83; μ) Newell, countermarked as on ζ–η, gr. 3.53, →. PLATE XXXIX, 3; ν) Dr. McDowell (purchased in Azerbaijan), ↑, gr. 4.84. PLATE XXXIX, 4.

GROUP C

523. BRONZE UNIT.

Elderly head of Antiochus I, similar to that on Nos. 519–522. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. upon *omphalos*, holding three arrows in his outstretched r. and resting l. upon bow. In upper, inner l. field, 𐡀. Beneath Apollo's r. arm, 𐡀𐡓 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE l.

α) London (Gardner, p. 10, No. 30), ↙; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑; γ) Berlin (Imhoof Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 4.73; δ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 3.49; ε) Newell, ↘, gr. 3.37. PLATE LVI, 20.

524. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑; β) Newell, ↘, gr. 1.88. PLATE LVI, 21; γ) Yakountchikoff Coll., *Unpublished Coins* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 38, No. 95, gr. 2.62, Pl. vii.

525. BRONZE QUARTER.

Laureate head of Apollo, with long hair, to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ANTIOXOY in the exergue. Lyre. On right, 𐡀 (inverted) above 𐡓 (on its side).

Newell (from Persia), ↓, gr. 0.93. PLATE XXXIX, 14.

526. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the second monogram is 𐡌 (sometimes 𐡌𐡓).

α–η) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↖, gr. 0.93; ↖, gr. 0.93; ←, gr. 0.91; ↖, gr. 0.86; →, gr. 0.76; ↙, gr. 0.74; ↗, gr. 0.73; ↙, gr. 0.66; θ) Newell (from Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.), ↗, gr. 0.69; ι) Newell, ↖, gr. 1.11. PLATE XXXIX, 15; κ) Newell ↗, gr. 1.08. PLATE XXXIX, 16; λ–ν) Dr. McDowell (from Persia), ↖, gr. 0.98; →, gr. 0.78; ←, gr. 0.77; ξ–αα) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, ↘, gr. 1.13; ↓, gr. 0.86; ↙, gr. 0.86; ↘, gr. 0.84; ↘, gr. 0.83; → gr. 0.80; ↑, gr. 0.69; ↙, gr. 0.68; ↖, gr. 0.67; ↘, gr. 0.65; →, gr. 0.63; ←, gr. 0.57; ββ) Paris (Babelon, No. 166, Pl. v, 6), gr. 0.75.

527. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the second monogram is 𐡀𐡓.

Newell (from Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.), ↙, gr. 0.99. PLATE XXXIX, 17.

GROUP D

528. TETRADRACHM.

Elderly head of Antiochus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, holding three arrows in his outstretched r., seated to l. on *omphalos*. In upper l. field, 𐡀. Beneath Apollo's arm, 𐡊 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

α) Cambridge (Leake Coll.); β) Paris (*Revue numismatique*, 4th Ser. Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 131, No. 482), gr. 17.07; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. = *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 174, No. 10, Pl. i, 6), ↘, gr. 17.21. PLATE XXXIX, 5; δ) Berlin, ↓, gr. 17.18. PLATE XXXIX, 6.

529. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper l. field, 𐡠. Beneath Apollo's arm, 𐡊 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) London (Gardner, p. 9, No. 20, Pl. iii, 6), ↘, gr. 17.15. PLATE XXXIX, 8; β) Newell (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 869, Pl. 30 = Hirsch Sale XXXIII, Nov. 1913, No. 886, Pl. xxi = Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2865, Pl. xxxii = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 694), ↓, gr. 17.14. PLATE XXXIX, 7.
β is from the same obverse die as No. 528 δ.

530. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper l. field, 𐡠. Beneath Apollo's arm, 𐡊 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. = *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 174, No. 13, Pl. i, 8), ↖, gr. 4.09. PLATE XXXIX, 9; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↗, gr. 3.945. PLATE XXXIX, 10.

531. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ in the exergue. Apollo, seated to l. on *omphalos*, holds three arrows in his outstretched r., rests l. on bow. In l. field, 𐡠 above 𐡊 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

α) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), →, gr. 5.78. PLATE XXXIX, 11; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 150, Pl. iv, 20), gr. 6.40; γ) London (Gardner, No. 31, Pl. iv, 5), ↑; δ) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↑, gr. 5.35; ε) Newell, ←, gr. 4.74; ζ) Excavations of Rayy, 1934, gr. 4.15.

532. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), →, gr. 2.53; β) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↙, gr. 2.34. PLATE XXXIX, 12.

533. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding, except that the second monogram is 𐡌.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 425, No. 17. *Choix*, Pl. vi, 212), ↓, gr. 6.50; β) Newell, →, gr. 5.65. PLATE XXXIX, 13; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↗; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), →.

534. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus (frequently with features resembling those of Antiochus II) to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding. Apollo still holds three arrows. Beneath his r. arm, 𐡠 above 𐡊 or 𐡊 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

α) Rogers' Coll. (*Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. I, 1921, p. 28, No. 2a, Pl. ii), gr. 6.42; β) Newell, ←, gr. 4.75. PLATE XXXIX, 18; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. There arranged under Antiochus III), gr. 4.45.

535. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. The second monogram is or  .

α) London (Gardner, p. 11, No. 33), ↘; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 175, No. 17, Pl. i, 9 and *Monnaies grecques*, p. 425, No. 18), gr. 2.71; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); δ) Rogers' Coll. (*Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. I, 1921, p. 28, No. 2b, Pl. ii), gr. 2.33; ε–ζ) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, ↖, gr. 2.56; ↑, gr. 2.54.

536. BRONZE HALF (OR QUARTER).

Similar to the preceding, the features sometimes resembling those of Antiochus II.

ΒΑΣΙ on r., ΑΝΤΙ in the exergue. Tripod, in front of which is a raven to r. On l., above  .

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Num. Zeitschr.*, XLVI, 1913, p. 175, No. 21a. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 59. *Choix*, Pl. vii, 217), gr. 1.05; β) London (Sir George Macdonald in *Zeitschr. für Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 94, No. 13, Pl. iv, 13), ↖, gr. 1.42; γ) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll., →; δ) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, ↘, gr. 1.12; ε) Newell (Gen Starosselsky Coll.), ↓, gr. 1.17; ζ) Newell, ↙, gr. 1.53. PLATE XXXIX, 19; ζ) Wintherthur, gr. 0.80; η) Rogers Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 240, No 4, Pl. ix, 3, gr. 1.20.

537. BRONZE HALF (OR QUARTER).

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the lower monogram is .

Berlin.

As at Seleucia, so at Ecbatana the Alexandrine-type coinage of Antiochus I did not last long, but was soon replaced by an issue (Group B) bearing his own types. As at Seleucia,[24] so likewise at Ecbatana the first issue of these new coins (No. 516, PLATE XXXVIII, 11) bears a youthful portrait of Antiochus. Beginning with this issue, and continuing through to the end of the reign, the coins once more display the normal marks of the Ecbatana mint, namely the forepart of the feeding horse accompanied by the monogram  . If this monogram be that of an individual, as we have hitherto assumed, then we should probably now look upon it not as the monogram of the man who had for so long a stretch of years[25] supervised the coinages of Ecbatana but rather, perhaps, the monogram of his son and namesake following in his father's foot-steps as mint official in the Median capital. There are, however, two possible alternatives: the rather unlikely one that the new official chanced to bear the same name, although actually unrelated to the older man—or the monogram  had by now become such an integral part of the types that it was found commercially inexpedient to remove it. In that case, it would no longer have any specific significance,[26] except the general one of assuring suspicious

[24] Cf. p. 54, No. 140.

[25] From *c.* 311 to, perhaps, *c.* 282 B. C.

[26] Cf. the anachronistic mint-master's initials S F on the Maria Theresa thalers coined for Abyssinian use.

"natives" that the coins still emanated from the Ecbatana mint. For that purpose, however, one would have thought that the forepart of the feeding horse would have been quite sufficient. In any case, it does reassure *us* that the coins now before us really did originate in Ecbatana. The additional monogram ⊠ greatly resembles the one already encountered on No. 492 under Seleucus I. Similar also to the contemporaneous tetradrachms of Seleucia, Nos. 140–142, Apollo on No. 516 holds several arrows in his outstretched hand. In the present instance the arrows number three, instead of the two found at Seleucia.

The coins of Group B (Nos. 517–522, PLATES XXXVIII, 12–16; XXXIX, 1–4) offer us a splendidly modelled head of the elderly Antiochus. In other respects the tetradrachms remain the same as in Group A, except for the changing monograms of the assistant magistrates. As in Group A, so now the reverse dies again follow the inverted position customary at Ecbatana. Accompanying this issue of silver was a prolific coinage in bronze, comprising at least three denominations. The usual marks of Ecbatana, the feeding horse and 𐡀, appear on all these minor coins accompanied by the monograms of no less than two additional magistrates. The upper monogram somewhat resembles that found on Nos. 516 and 517; while the fine style and the details of the portrait are practically identical with those found on the silver, Nos. 517–519. The reverse type on the bronze coins, however, is the standing Apollo, holding a bow in his outstretched right while his left arm is bent and the hand holds an arrow. Because this type greatly resembles the usual reverse type of Seleucus II's issues, Imhoof-Blumer has assigned[27] our coins to Antiochus II. But their obvious association with the tetradrachms Nos. 517–519, and their typical portrait of the elder Antiochus definitely confirm the present attribution to the latter king. It will be noted that, in contrast to the accompanying silver, no particular attention was paid to the position of the reverse die on the bronze coins. Other positions than the inverted frequently occur.

A goodly proportion of the bronze specimens (Nos. 520–522) of this issue bear on their reverses an oblong punchmark containing the horned head of a horse (PLATE XXXIX, 1 and 3). This punchmark is always carefully placed in the field of the reverse, just beneath Apollo's left elbow, so that it should interfere neither with the design itself, nor with the magistrates' monograms in the left-hand field. The apparent care with which it has been applied, and the fact that it occurs on the coins of this issue only, suggest that the countermarking was carried out in the mint which had originally issued these coins, namely Ecbatana. The purpose of the counterstamp is not clear. Possibly it was intended to commemorate thereby some fortunate event, such as the king's great victory over the Gauls, or his early successes against Egypt, or some important happening in the east not recorded in our fragmentary accounts of the reign of Antiochus I.

As stated above, the reverse types of the bronze coins assembled under Group C have been changed. The obverses of the larger denominations (Nos. 523–4, PLATE LVI, 20–21) still display a well rendered portrait of the elderly Antiochus I,

[27] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 175.

exactly similar in style and character to that found on the preceding coins of Group B. The reverses now portray a seated Apollo, holding three arrows in his outstretched right and resting his left upon his bow. Not one of the known examples of these coins bears the countermark found on so many specimens of Nos. 521 and 522. With Nos. 523–4 must be associated a series of very small pieces (Nos. 525–7, PLATE XXXIX, 14–17) whose obverse type is an Apollo head with long hair, and whose reverse type is the lyre. The monogram 𐡀 is present, as usual, together with three varying subsidiary monograms, one of which is the 𐡐 of the larger coins. The coinage of these minute pieces was extensive and they are found in large numbers throughout a wide district of which modern Hamadan is the centre. Their proposed assignment to the first Antiochus is based on their uniformly good style, neat manufacture, and the similarity of some of their monograms to those found on the larger pieces. It may also be noted that, in spite of their small size, the full title and name of the king are given in small but well formed and perfectly legible letters. On later issues of the small size, the inscription is usually given in an abbreviated form.

Group D comprises a further coinage of tetradrachms (PLATE XXXIX, 5–8), accompanied by drachms (PLATE XXXIX, 9–10) and an issue of bronze coins with the new reverse type of the seated Apollo (PLATE XXXIX, 11–13). The coins are all marked with the customary 𐡀 and the forepart of a feeding horse. The obverse dies of the silver coins are now of lower relief, harder and dryer in the technique of their die-cutting. The features of Antiochus appear older, the chord and "Adam's apple" of his neck stand out more prominently, and he has deeper wrinkles in the fleshy parts about jaw and mouth.

The larger denominations (Nos. 531–5, PLATE XXXIX, 11–13, 18) of the accompanying bronze coins continue to bear the seated Apollo holding his now customary three arrows. The portraits on these pieces, however, are variously rendered. Sometimes they are obviously intended for the first Antiochus (cf. PLATE XXXIX, 11–12); at other times, they are distinctly younger (cf. PLATE XXXIX, 13, 18). As a result, the coins have frequently been assigned by scholars to Antiochus II, and even to Antiochus III. But to the present writer, the line of demarcation does not appear to be very definitely drawn, the one portrait gliding almost imperceptibly into the other. For that reason the coins have all been catalogued under Antiochus I, although such specimens as bear the apparently younger features may well have been coined under his son, before a good portrait of the latter had become available to the die-cutters of Ecbatana. Furthermore, on most of these specimens the decipherment of the second monogram is not always easy or certain. The coins themselves are comparatively small, and are usually very much worn by long circulation, while the monograms are frequently more or less off flan and damaged by corrosion. The author has had to depend upon inferior specimens existing in America, upon casts, indifferent photographic reproductions and the eyes of other people. Hence, he cannot always guarantee that the forms as given are correct in every detail, or that he has succeeded in listing every

possible variety. To accomplish that, a great many more actual coins in perfect preservation would be required.

Finally, there have been tentatively added to the coinages assigned to Antiochus I, the two small coins Nos. 536 and 537 (PLATE XXXIX, 19). The obverse bears a royal portrait, while on the reverse we find Apollo's tripod, in front of which may be seen, standing to r., his mantic bird, the crow or raven.[28] The inscription has now been abbreviated to ΒΑΣΙ ΑΝΤΙ, and the feeding horse symbol has been omitted. We still have, however, the monogram  , accompanied by two others (one on each coin) which are similar to those appearing on the tetradrachms Nos. 528–529. The royal portrait on one of the author's specimens is obviously intended for Antiochus I. On the other hand, the portrait of PLATE XXXIX, 19 distinctly approaches that of his son. The monogram of this particular piece,  , is also found on the immediately following issues, Nos. 538–540, of Antiochus II. It is possible that while this coinage was still in progress, the death of Antiochus I intervened, and thereafter his portrait was replaced by that of his son.

ANTIOCHUS II

261–246 B. C.

GROUP A

538. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. in dotted circle. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo, naked, standing to l., his r. foot placed upon an *omphalos*, his r. hand holding an arrow, his l., the bow. In inner l. field, . Circle of dots.

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β) Newell, ↘, gr. 3.79; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 443, Pl. x, 21), gr. 6.40; δ) Vienna, gr. 4.53; ε) London (Gardner, p. 10, No. 24, Pl. iv, 2), →, gr. 4.41; ϛ) London, →, gr. 5.19. PLATE XXXIX, 20; ζ) London, ↑, gr. 4.40. PLATE XXXIX, 21; η–ι) Berlin, ↙, gr. 4.25, and two others, ↗ and ↖.

539. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (sometimes to be read outwardly) on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Figure (male or female ?) in long robe standing to r., rests r. upon sceptre, points downwards with l. In inner r. field, . Circle of dots.

α) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 714, Pl. xx, gr. 2.96; β) White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 560, Pl. vii, gr. 3.18; γ) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 2.01; ε) Newell, ↖, gr. 2.50; ϛ) London, ↑, gr. 3.04. PLATE XXXIX, 23; ζ) London, ↓, gr. 3.19. PLATE XXXIX, 22; η–ι) Berlin, ←, ↖ and ↗.

540. BRONZE HALF.

Horned helmet to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙ on r., ΑΝΤΙ in the exergue. Tripod, in front of which is a crow to r. On l., (placed sideways).

[28] The same type recurs, some three hundred and twenty years later, on certain common denarii of the emperor Vitellius.

α) Dr. Ernst Herzfeld (secured in Persia), ↓, gr. 1.28; β) Newell, ←, gr. 1.25; γ–ε) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, ↖, gr. 1.03; ←, gr. 0.86; ↙, gr. 0.83; ↙, gr. 1.04. PLATE XL, 1.

GROUP B

541. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo, holding three arrows in outstretched r., seated to l. on *omphalos*. In upper l. field, 𐡕. In inner lower l. field, 𐡏 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

Newell, ↘, gr. 16.46. PLATE XXXIX, 24.

542. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding. In upper l. field, 𐡕. In lower l. field, 𐡎 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.85. PLATE XXXIX, 25.

543. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper l. field, 𐡕. In lower l. field, 𐡍 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE l. Circle of dots.

α) Istanbul (*Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 42, No. 394, Pl. 10), gr. 16.48; β) Six Coll. (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVIII, 1898, p. 229, No. 2, Pl. xv, 2), gr. 16.18; γ) Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2921a, Pl. xxv, gr. 16.87. PLATE XL, 2.
All three specimens are from the same pair of dies.

544. BRONZE UNIT.

Diademed head to r. Behind, K. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding, but the monograms are obliterated.

Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ←, gr. 2.90. PLATE XL, 3.

Group A (Nos. 538–540, PLATES XXXIX, 20–23; XL, 1), consisting only of bronze coins, is closely connected with the last issues of the preceding reign by style, fabric, the reverse type of the smallest denomination and the presence of the monogram 𐡍. Although the customary feeding horse and monogram 𐡕 are missing, the other similar characteristics, as well as the usual provenance, render their mint certain. The portraits on the obverses of Nos. 538 and 539 are typical of the second Antiochus,[29] with at times a suggestion of his father's more rugged features. That with these coins we are entering a new reign is also suggested by the complete change in the reverse types of the larger coins, in the obverse type of the smallest coin. The Apollo figure of No. 538, PLATE XXXIX, 20–21, assumes a posture extremely rare in Seleucid numismatics, though it vividly recalls the portrayal of

[29] In particular, compare PLATE XXXIX, 20 with the certain portrait of Antiochus II as it appears on the gold staters of Bactra, PLATES LII, 17, 21 and LIII, 1–4.

a statue frequently appearing on Roman imperial coins, from Marcus Aurelius to Alexander Severus, at Alexandria Troas.[30] To assume a connection between the type on these early royal Seleucid coins of Ecbatana in Persia, and the much later imperial Roman coins of Alexandria in Troas, is hazardous.

The curious figure on the reverse of No. 539, PLATE XXXIX, 22–23, must also remain an enigma until we can be certain of just what deity it is supposed to portray. Some, but not all, of the available specimens seem to indicate that the figure is bearded, therefore male. But this does not accord well with the long robes clearly discernible on all the examples. The compilers of the Fenerly Bey and White-King catalogues call the deity Zeus. If so, his long robes would suggest an oriental form of the god. It might, of course, be the Asiatic Dionysus—but the distinctly Apolline character displayed by the types of the two accompanying coins does not favor such an interpretation. In any case, the curious, downward pointing gesture of the figure's left hand is not explained. If the figure is actually beardless, then it might be Apollo in his long robes as Musagetes, But here again, the absence of the usual lyre, as well as the presence of the sceptre, is embarrassing. In this highly unsatisfactory state, we had best leave the type until a really perfect specimen determines the identity of the deity beyond reasonable doubt. The third and smallest denomination, No. 540, PLATE XL, 1, continues the tripod and raven type from the final issue under Antiochus I. Instead of a portrait on the obverse, however, we now have the helmet of Seleucus, adorned with the wide-spreading bull's horns.

The silver coins of Group B are of the orthodox Ecbatana type, provided with the usual 𐤑 and feeding-horse symbol[31] accompanied by the varying monograms of subordinate officials. The portrait borne by the coins, while not an unmitigated success, nevertheless is easily recognizable as belonging to the second Antiochus. The provenance of the copper coin No. 544, as well as its style and fabric, suggests an attribution to Ecbatana, although certainty is lacking as the monograms on its reverse are obscured by corrosion and wear.

SELEUCUS II 246–226/5 B. C.

SERIES I

GROUP A

545. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, naked but for *chlamys* over r. thigh, seated to l. on *omphalos*, holds three

[30] For a discussion of this type and references to the various theories with regard to it, see V. R. Grace in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 52, 1932, p. 228ff.

[31] The tetradrachm in Aberdeen is correctly noted by E. S. G. Robinson (*Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 360) as a modern forgery. A further specimen, from the same pair of dies, turned up in the Helbing Sale, March 1926, No. 120, Pl. 5 and again in the Helbing Sale, April 1927, No. 1796, Pl. 57.

arrows in outstretched r., and rests l. upon bow. In upper l. field, 𐡀. In lower l. field, 𐡀 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 906, Pl. 31, gr. 15.98. PLATE XL, 4.

546. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

From the same die as the preceding, but with 𐡌 cut over the second monogram.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 942, Pl. 33 (= Cons. Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4048 = *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 175, No. 22, Pl. i, 13), gr. 16.97. PLATE XL, 5.

GROUP B

547. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. in dotted circle.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, nude, seated to l. on *omphalos* holding two (not three) arrows. In upper l. inner field, 𐡀. In lower field, 𐡇 above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Circle of dots.

α) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.20; β) Paris. PLATE XL, 6.

548. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription. Apollo standing to l. beside his tripod. In upper l. inner field, 𐡀 (sometimes lacking ?). In lower l. field, 𐡌 (placed sideways) above HORSE'S HEAD to l. In outer r. field, 𐡄. Circle of dots.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Numismatische Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 176, No. 23, Pl. i, 14), ↖, gr. 5.50; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ←, gr. 5.41; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), →; δ) Berlin (Konsul Strauss Coll.), ↑; ε) Newell, →, gr. 5.96. PLATE XL, 7; ζ) Newell, ↖, gr. 5.75. PLATE XL. 8.

549. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol and monograms.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. *Numismat. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 176, No. 24, Pl. i, 15), gr. 2.45; β) London (Gardner, p. 109, No. 14a); γ) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↙, gr. 2.61; δ) Newell, ↙, gr. 2.70; ε) Newell (Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.), ↗, gr. 2.40. PLATE XL, 9; ζ) Mr. Martin Pollack, ↑, gr. 2.10; η) Newell, ←, gr. 2.59.

550. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol and monograms.

Newell (Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll. Cf. *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, Vol. XXXV, 1925, p. 222, No. 1, Pl. ix, 1), ↖, gr. 1.25. PLATE XL. 10.

GROUP C

551. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. in dotted circle. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below elephant, guided by his *mahout*, advancing to r. Behind elephant, 𐡀.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↗; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 25, No. 11), gr. 4.60; γ) Newell, ↖, gr. 5.74. PLATE XL, 11; δ) London (Gardner, p. 17, No. 15, Pl. vi, 4); ε) London, ←, gr. 5.09. PLATE XL, 12.

552. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram.

London (Rogers Coll. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 4th. Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 241, No. 5, Pl. ix, 6), ←, gr. 1.98. PLATE XL, 13.

553. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the monogram is 𐡀𐡓.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 25, No. 10), gr. 6.06.

554. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding. The monogram is again 𐡀.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 274, Pl. vii, 11), gr. 4.25; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 26, No. 18, Pl. lxv, 1), gr. 4.80; γ) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; δ) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 24, Pl. vi, 8); ε) London, ↑, gr. 4.25. PLATE XL, 15; ϝ) Newell, ↗, gr. 5.12; ζ) Newell, ↓, gr. 5.08; η) Newell, ↓, gr. 7.25. PLATE XL, 14.

555. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 26), ←, gr. 1.88. PLATE XL, 16; β) Newell (from Persia), →, gr. 2.90. PLATE XL, 17.

GROUP A

The portrait of Nos. 545–546, PLATE XL, 4–5, while recognizable as that of the new king, Seleucus II, is not particularly successful. Their reverse type is not that usually adopted by this king for his gold and silver, but they continue, instead, the *seated* Apollo of the preceding issues of Antiochus I and II. In the field, we find the customary 𐡀 and the forepart of the feeding horse, accompanied by the monograms of subordinate officials. The rarity of the coins, and the fact that Nos. 545–546 are struck from a single pair of dies,[32] suggests that the issue was not very extensive.

[32] The reverse die was altered for No. 546 by recutting the monogram of the new magistrate over that of the old.

GROUP B

Much more successful as a portrait of Seleucus II is the head on the tetradrachm No. 547, PLATE XL, 6. Both diadem-ends are now again depicted as waving, and thus cease to carry on the arrangement by which the one end rises in an S-like curve, while the other falls straight. This latter arrangement was first introduced at Ecbatana in the reign of Antiochus I (PLATE XXXVIII, 11–12; PLATE XXXIX, 8) and continued through Series I, Group A (PLATE XL, 4–5) of Seleucus II. The reverse type still remains that of the seated Apollo, but now he holds only two arrows, instead of the three customary at Ecbatana since the first issue of this type under Antiochus I, No. 516ff. The monogram 𐡀 and the forepart of a feeding horse still mark this tetradrachm as an issue of the Ecbatana mint.

Probably accompanying the tetradrachm No. 547, come bronze coins in three denominations, Nos. 548–550, PLATE XL, 7–10. On these, a horse's head replaces the forepart of a feeding horse, although the monogram 𐡀 still marks the coins as issues of Ecbatana. That fact is further supported by style, fabric, and usual provenance of the coins themselves. The reverse type of these bronze coins is a favorite with Seleucus II, namely the standing Apollo resting his left elbow on a tall tripod. On the extreme right, we find the monogram 𐡁 which continues to mark the succeeding coins.

GROUP C

As yet no silver coins have turned up to accompany this issue, which for the moment consists only of bronze coins. At first the diademed portrait of the king, with waving diadem-ends, continues to grace the obverse die (Nos. 551–553, PLATE XL, 11–13), while on the reverse we find depicted an Indian elephant, advancing to right surmounted by his *mahout*. It is possible that in this new type we should recognize an allusion to the campaign which Seleucus was now preparing to undertake in an attempt to recover the lost Seleucid provinces of the east.[33] The final issue of this type, Nos. 554–555, PLATE XL, 14–17, replaces Seleucus' portrait by the head of Athena wearing an Attic helmet. In this head, too, we may perhaps see an allusion to the warlike preparations now going on. As stated above, Group C is connected with the bronze coins of the preceding Group B by the monogram 𐡁, as it is also by identical fabric, style and usual provenance of the individual specimens.

SERIES II

556. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, nude, standing to l., holds arrow in his outstretched r. and rests l. elbow on tall tripod placed behind him. In inner l. field 𐡀 above HORSE'S HEAD to l. In outer r. field, 𐡂.

α) Berlin, ↖, gr. 16.86. PLATE XL, 18; β) Newell, ↘, gr. 16.52.

[33] Bouché-Leclercq, Vol. I, pp. 108–109.

557. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Draped bust of Dionysus, three-quarters facing and crowned with ivy. Fillet circle around. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below elephant advancing to l. To r., 𐡎 (or 𐡎). In the exergue, uncertain monogram.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 428, No. 45), ↓, gr. 31.73. PLATE XL, 19.

558. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To r., 𐡎 (or 𐡎). In the exergue, 𐡌 (sometimes, 𐡌).

α) Yale University, ↑, gr. 18.60; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 15.14; γ) Berlin (Morel Coll.), ↓, gr. 14.88. PLATE XLI, 1; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 19.87. PLATE XLI, 2.

559. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To r., 𐡎 (or 𐡎). In the exergue, 𐡌.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 8.11. PLATE XLI, 3; β) London (Gardner, p. 109, No. 27 α).

560. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To r., 𐡎 (or 𐡎). In the exergue, 𐡌.

α) Dr. Wilson, Azerbaijan, ↖, gr. 3.01; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 428, No. 46), ↘, gr. 4.30. PLATE XLI, 4; γ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 5.63. PLATE XLI, 5; δ) Newell, →, gr. 5.18.

Beginning with Series II, the tetradrachms of Ecbatana finally conform in their types to the silver issues of Seleucus II for the remainder of his empire. Thus, on the reverse, we now find Apollo standing beside his tripod, instead of seated on the *omphalos* as heretofore. With this issue, too, the precedent set by the bronze coins Nos. 548–550 is followed and a HORSE'S HEAD replaces the former mintmark of the FEEDING HORSE. The old monogram 𐡎 has also now finally disappeared, never to return. But a close connection with preceding silver issues still remains, in that the magistrate 𐡎 continues to sign at least the first of these coins, No. 556.

Associated with this tetradrachm was probably the important and interesting group of bronze coins, Nos. 557–560, PLATE XL, 19 and PLATE XLI, 1–5, in four denominations. Their style and fabric are distinctly eastern. Of the known specimens there is unfortunately but one which offers us a definite provenance, namely No. 560 α which was secured by Dr. Wilson in Azerbaijan, whence so many of the specimens from the Ecbatana mint seem to come. Not a single example was found either at Seleucia on the Tigris or at Susa. This almost presupposes a mint either in northern Mesopotamia or in northern Persia. Ecbatana as the location of this mint is therefore a reasonable suggestion. The monogram above and to the right of the elephant was read by Imhoof-Blumer[34] as 𐡎. If this is correct, no further

[34] *Monnaies grecques*, p. 428, No. 46.

argument would be necessary and the true mint of the coins would be established. Unfortunately the present writer, much as he would like to agree with Imhoof-Blumer, cannot bring himself to recognize ⌶, but something more like ⌶ or ⌶, though in every case the monogram is far from clear.[35] As a similar monogram also occurs on the tetradrachm No. 556, the association of our bronze coins with this piece is rendered the more likely.

The conjunction, in the types of these bronze pieces, of Dionysus and the Indian elephant is perhaps significant. If so, they too may allude to the eastern ambitions and warlike intentions of Seleucus. The group is rendered further conspicuous by the great size and weight of No. 557, the largest Seleucid bronze coin we have yet met in the course of our present study. Of almost the same unusual size is another bronze coin[36] of Seleucus II, struck in a western mint, perhaps Apamea. Its reverse type portrays either one of the Dioscuri with couched lance charging to left (as Babelon thinks), or Seleucus himself about to attack an enemy. In any case, the type is clearly warlike in its suggestiveness and so may also allude to this same eastern expedition of Seleucus.

Compared with the remaining bronze coins of Seleucus II's reign, the weights of Nos. 557–560 appear distinctly high, and in this regard would conform better with the standard prevailing under Seleucus Nicator and for the first issue (Nos. 520–522) of Antiochus I. Everything else, however, such as style, the use of a facing head, the presence of so large a coin as No. 557, the existence of similar monograms on obvious issues of Seleucus II (in Series II and III), all support Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner in their assignment of these coins to the second Seleucus. This being so, then two courses are open to us: either to assume that No. 557 actually represents sixteen units, No. 558, eight units, and so on down—or to suppose that the coins in question represent a special (victory or commemorative) issue and that their weights were deliberately increased for purposes of ostentation, or with a desire to return to the heavier standard of the "golden age," i. e. the glorious reigns of Seleucus I and Antiochus I. The latter explanation appeals most to the present writer. It is to be noted that the heavy standard was not long maintained. After a short period of hesitancy in the course of the immediately succeeding issue (Group A of Series III, No. 563, for which the weights are noticeably erratic), the weights of the bronze coins return to a standard prevalent at Ecbatana since the reduction first accomplished early in the reign of Antiochus I.

It is very possible that the gold stater described below under No. 761, may also once have formed part of Series II, issued in connection with Seleucus II's eastern expedition. Unfortunately it bears neither symbol nor monogram, and therefore its assignment to this period and mint rests only upon a certain subjective impression conveyed by its style and fabric.

[35] Gardner, in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 109, No. 27 α, saw Σ.

[36] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 184, No. 56, Pl. iii, 7; Babelon, *loc. cit.*, No. 275, Pl. vii, 12, gr. 20.80 (but very worn).

SERIES III

GROUP A

561. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. From the same die, now mended and repaired, as No. 556.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo stands beside his tripod as on No. 556. In inner l. field, 𐡄 above HORSE'S HEAD to l. In outer r. field, 𐡀. Circle of dots.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 24, No. 4, Pl. lxiv, 19), gr. 16.67. PLATE XLI, 6.

562. DIOBOL.

Horse's head to r. with rein. Circle of dots.

Same inscription. Bow in case and quiver, full of arrows, joined together. In outer r. field, 𐡄 or 𐡄. In outer l. field, 𐡄.

α) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Ward Coll., No. 771, Pl. xviii), ←, gr. 1.32; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 57, Pl. ii, 11), gr. 1.30; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 427, No. 35 = Gréau Coll., No. 2221, Pl. iv), ↘, gr. 1.31; δ) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 409, Pl. 13, gr. 1.28; ε) Hess Sale, Oct. 1907, No. 1137, Pl. iii, gr. 1.30; ζ) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 808, Pl. 27), ↑, gr. 1.24; ζ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 807, Pl. 27, gr. 1.40; η) Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7838, gr. 1.32, Pl. 285; θ) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2784, Pl. lxxvi (= Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2. No. 7834, Pl. 285), gr. 1.31. PLATE XLI, 7.

563. BRONZE TRIPLE.

Diademed, bearded head of Seleucus II to r. in dotted circle. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription and type as on the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡄. In outer r. field, 𐡄. Circle of dots.

α) London (Gardner, p. 19, No. 37), ←, gr. 12.43; β) London (Gardner, p. 19, No. 36), ↗, gr. 8.08; γ) Newell, ↗, gr. 8.60; δ) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↘, gr. 8.57; ε) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; ζ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 11.72; ζ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 10.93; η) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 9.63; θ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 427, No. 36. *Choix*, etc., Pl. vi, 208), ↙, gr. 8.52. PLATE XLI, 8.

564. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↗, gr. 4.71; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.65; δ) Newell, ↙, gr. 4.65; ε) Newell, ↗, gr. 5.90. PLATE XLI, 11; ζ) London (Gardner, p. 19, No. 38, Pl. vi, 15), ↓, gr. 4.94. PLATE XLI, 9; ζ) London, ←, gr. 4.56. PLATE XLI, 10.

565. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 2.68; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 427, No. 37), gr. 2.45; γ) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; δ) London, ←, gr. 2.48. PLATE XLI, 12.

GROUP B

566. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of bearded Heracles to r. in lion's skin; club over shoulder. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, nude, standing to l., holds arrow in r. and rests l. elbow on tripod behind him. In l. field, ⋈ above ⋈.

α) Newell, ↗, gr. 5.17; β) formerly Imhoof-Blumer Coll. (Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 427, No. 40), gr. 4.90; γ) Berlin (von Gansauge Coll.), ←, gr. 5.07; δ) Berlin, gr. 5.12; ε) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.17. PLATE XLI, 13; ζ) Newell, ↖, gr. 4.90.

567. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β–γ) London (Gardner, p. 109, No. 23 α and β, Pl. xxviii, 7); δ) White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 548, Pl. vii; ε) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 3.13; ζ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 427, No. 41. *Choix, etc.*, Pl. vi, 200), gr. 2.45; ζ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 2.844. PLATE XLI, 14; η) Newell, ↖, gr. 2.69; θ) Newell, ↖, gr. 2.40. PLATE XLI, 15.

GROUP C

568. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Athena to r., wearing a crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Winged victory standing to l., holds long palm branch in r. and rests l. elbow on tripod behind her. In outer l. field, ⋈. In outer r. field, ⋈.

α) London, gr. 6.03; β) London, gr. 5.96; δ) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; ε) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 428, No. 43), gr. 4.25; ζ) Newell, →, gr. 4.58; ζ) Newell, ↖, gr. 6.36; η) Newell, ↗, gr. 5.00. PLATE XLI, 16.

569. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 428, No. 44. *Choix, etc.*, Pl. vi, 199), gr. 2.28; γ) Berlin, gr. 2.79; δ) Berlin, gr. 2.85. PLATE XLI, 18; ε) Dr. Wilson, Azerbaijan, ←, gr. 1.75; ζ) Newell, ↙, gr. 2.31. PLATE XLI, 17.

570. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) London, gr. 1.26; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 1.21. PLATE XLI, 19; γ) Berlin (Fox, from Hamadan), ↖.

The coinage which at Ecbatana covers the final portion of Seleucus II's reign, is characterized by the monogram ⋈ appearing on all but a single denomination. This is the small fractional piece No. 562, PLATE XLI, 7, on which, because of its small size, only one element, H, of the monogram is given.[37] The silver tetra-

[37] If the monogram ⋈ should stand for some such common name as Ἡφαίστιον, then H would represent its initial letter.

drachm No. 561 bears, in addition, the horse's head symbol of Ecbatana, which is also the obverse type of the accompanying diobol, No. 562. The remaining coins of the series do not display the symbol, but only the accompanying monogram 𐡌. That the copper was certainly struck in northern Iran is established by their usual provenance, their fabric and their style, while the monogram associates them with the tetradrachm which is localized by the horse's-head symbol.

We have seen that the final bronze coins of the preceding Series II displayed types which ostensibly allude to the preparations for the coming great effort to reconquer the east. For there the Seleucid holdings were in the gravest danger. Bactria and Astauene had already been lost either to revolting Bactrians or to the Parthian nomads some fifteen years previously, in the reign of Antiochus II. Now, so soon as the news of the great defeat suffered in 234 B. C. by Seleucus II before Ankyra penetrated to the east, the Parthians under their king Tiridates crossed their former boundaries, fell upon the province of Parthia, subjugated it and were now over-running the adjacent province of Hyrcania. It was high time to act, if the remainder were to be saved. Having recruited his armies, Seleucus advanced against the Parthians. Success crowned his efforts and the Parthians were unable to stem the Seleucid tide. They were driven out of Hyrcania and Parthia, and forced to seek refuge in their native Chorasmian steppes where Seleucus could not follow them.

The fractional silver and bronze coins of Group A, PLATE XLI, 7–12, commemorate this success by placing on their reverses the characteristic weapons of the nomad Parthians—the bow in case and the quiver full of arrows. On the obverse of the diobol is a horse's head, in direct allusion to the district of Ecbatana, so rich in pasturage and so famous for its horses. Upon the latter, Seleucus had doubtless drawn heavily in order to mount his own cavalry that it might on more even terms meet the renowned Parthian horsemen. On the obverses of the bronze coins we find a portrait of Seleucus II, now wearing a pointed beard—such as he may well have affected during the course of his victorious campaign.[38] As this is the first instance since the reign of Seleucus I that small silver coins have appeared, there is obviously something distinctive about the present issue. This fact, coupled with the unusual types employed, serve to proclaim that we probably have before us a real "victory coinage," commemorating the successful battles which had recently freed Media from the imminent danger of a Parthian invasion.

But, unfortunately, a rebellion now broke out in Syria and brought the king's eastern campaigns to a sudden close. Eventually the Parthian king took heart, returned with his armies, overcame the weak Seleucid guards which had been left behind and so recovered most of the conquered territory. It was probably at about this period that the bronze coins of Group B replaced those of Group A. Their reverse type is the usual one of Apollo leaning against his tripod; but on their obverse we see a bearded bust of Heracles clothed in the lion's skin, and with his

[38] In refutation of the belief that Seleucus adopted a Parthian habit because of a supposititious sojourn among them, see Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Introd., p. lxv. Cf. also above, p. 135.

club conspicuously placed across his shoulder. The type may possibly have been selected to suggest that Seleucus II, like another Heracles, was courageously facing the many dangers which now threatened the empire on all sides.

Seleucus had hastened westwards from Parthia. It was not long before he had pacified the revolted Syria and its capital, Antioch, punished the rebels, and returned to Mesopotamia in time to meet an invasion from the north by his brother Hierax.[39] This danger, too, was successfully overcome, his brother's army scattered far and wide, while Hierax himself fled for his life, eventually to perish among the distant Thracians. Thus, before his own death in 226/5 B. C., Seleucus II managed to bring some measure of peace to the distracted empire. Group C, the final issue at Ecbatana under Seleucus II, bears the same chief magistrate's monogram as Groups A and B, and has types appropriate to the times. On the obverse is Athena's head again, this time wearing a Corinthian helmet. On the reverse is Nike who leans, as if resting from her labors, against the tall tripod of Apollo, while her outstretched right holds the long palm-branch of victory across the king's name.

SELEUCUS III

226/5–223/2 B. C.

571. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus III to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, drapery on thigh only, seated to l. on *omphalos*, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. In outer l. field, ⋈ above HORSE'S HEAD to l. In outer r. field, Α.

Formerly Julius Wertheim Coll. PLATE XLI, 20.

572. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., his hair arranged in widely spread formal curls. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Tall tripod, in front of which, low down, is a horse's head and neck to r. In outer r. field, Α or Π.

α) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, ↑, gr. 3.87; *β*) Excavations of Rayy, 1934, gr. 2.95; *γ*) Newell, ↖, gr. 2.86. PLATE XLI, 21; *δ*) Newell, →, gr. 2.75; *ε*) Dr. Wilson, Azerbaijan, ↓, gr. 2.34. PLATE XLI, 22; *ζ–η*) London (Gardner, p. 32, Nos. 15–17, Pl. X, 8).

573. BRONZE QUARTER (or HALF).

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α) Dr. McDowell, from Hamadan, ↙, gr. 0.71; *β–ζ*) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, ←, gr. 1.03. PLATE XLI, 23; ↙, gr. 0.93; ↘, gr. 0.86; ↑, gr. 0.66; ↓, 0.49; ←, gr. 0.43; *η*) Newell, ↖, gr. 1.54; *θ*) London (Gardner, p. 32, No. 18).

The silver coinage (No. 571, PLATE XLI, 20) from the short reign of Seleucus III offers us a typical portrait of that king with faintly indicated side-whiskers

[39] Beloch IV, 2, p. 683.

in front of the ear. The reverse bears the horse's head, the present mint-mark of Ecbatana, accompanied by two new monograms. The series of bronze coins, Nos. 572–573, is assigned to this reign because it appears to be of later style than any of the coins catalogued under Seleucus II, and because, otherwise, the reign of the third Seleucus would be without any examples in the base metal. The usual provenance of these coins from northern Iran, and the presence on them of the horse's head symbol, point unmistakably to Ecbatana as their original mint.

MOLON

222–220 B. C.

The news of the assassination of Seleucus III in Asia Minor and the acclamation at Antioch of Antiochus III, reached the latter while still in Seleucia. The young king, barely twenty years of age, pausing only long enough to appoint Molon to the satrapy of Media, and the latter's brother Alexander to that of Persis, hastened to Antioch in order there to take up the reins of government. It is probable that from the very outset, Molon and his brother began to plot and prepare for a rebellion against the Seleucid dominion. They had before them the successful examples of the Bactrian Diodotus and the Parthian Arsaces, while at the same time they discounted the youthfulness of the king and feared[40] the suspicious nature and evil character of Hermias, the king's most trusted adviser and now the regent of the empire. Molon commenced preparations[41] at once, and by the summer of 222[42] was in open revolt. As described above in Chapter I, pp. 84f. Molon advanced from Ecbatana, swept the loyal generals before him, and reached Ctesiphon where he took up his winter quarters.

Whether any coins were issued from Ecbatana in the name of Antiochus III during the very short period between his accession and the open revolt of Molon, we do not know. Certain it is that at present none are known which could, with entire safety, be assigned to these few months. On the other hand, we have the following coins of Molon.

574. BRONZE DOUBLE (?).

Laureate head of Apollo to r. with flowing locks. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΜΟΛΩΝΟΣ on l. Winged victory standing to l., holds palm branch in l. and with a wreath in her outstretched r., crowns the king's name. In outer l. field, 𐡌. In outer r. field, 𐡀. Circle of dots.

α) London (Gardner, p. 30, No. 2, Pl. x, 2), gr. 4.27. PLATE XLII, 1; β) London, ↖, gr. 6.05. PLATE XLII, 2; γ) London (barbaric copy ?), ↑, gr. 1.68; δ) London, ↙, gr. 3.60; ε) Berlin, gr. 5.02; ϝ) Berlin, gr. 4.43. PLATE XLII, 3; ϛ) Paris (Babelon, No. 458, Pl. xi, 9), gr. 4.35. PLATE XLII, 4.

[40] Polybius V, 41, 1.
[41] Polybius V, 43, 5–7.
[42] Beloch IV, 2, p. 193ff.

As has already been remarked in discussing the extant coins of Molon from the mint at Seleucia on the Tigris, it is the writer's belief that silver tetradrachms were almost certainly coined bearing the usurper's name and types. None have as yet reached us due to the vicissitudes of time and the care exercised by the Seleucid authorities in seizing and destroying as many as possible after Molon's defeat and death. Some of the more humble copper coins have escaped the general fate. The style of the issues of Ecbatana is dryer and poorer, than on the issues of Seleucia, the types themselves in lower relief. The monogram on the extreme right of No. 574 appears to be the same as the one in the same position on the preceding silver issue of Seleucus III, No. 571. What denomination these coins are intended to represent is difficult to determine, as their recorded weights are unusually variable, though in diameter they differ but slightly. It is possible that two denominations, the Double as well as the Unit, were intended. On the other hand, the specimen γ (because of its almost barbaric style) looks like an ancient imitation, which suffices to account for its very low weight.

ANTIOCHUS III

223–186 B. C.

SERIES I, *c.* 220–215 B. C.

GROUP A

575. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, youthful head of Antiochus III to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, drapery on r. thigh, seated to l. on *omphalos*, rests l. on bow, holds arrow in his outstretched r. In outer l. field,  above HORSE'S HEAD l. In outer r. field,  .

α) Washington, United States Mint Coll., Smithsonian Institute; β) Hess Sale 208, Dec. 1931, No. 682, Pl. 11, gr. 17.05; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 960, Pl. 34, gr. 15.90; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.99. PLATE XLII, 5; ε) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 959, Pl. 34, gr. 17.15; ζ) Newell, →, gr. 17.25. PLATE XLII, 6.
α, β, and δ are from one obverse die, ε and ζ from another.

576. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field,  . In outer r. field,  . Circle of dots.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 13.56. PLATE XLII, 7.

577. BRONZE DOUBLE.

No specimen as yet recorded, although it may have once existed.

578. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 576.

Similar to No. 576. In outer r. field,  .

α) Berlin, gr. 2.55; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 2.69. PLATE XLII, 8; γ) Dr. Wilson, Azerbaijan, ↑, gr. 2.94.

GROUP B

579. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 575.

Similar to No. 575. In outer l. field, [monogram] above HORSE'S HEAD to l. In outer r. field, [monogram].

α) Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2919 a, Pl. xxv, gr. 17.05; β) Newell, ↖, gr. 16.86; γ) Newell, ↙, gr. 17.19; δ) London (ex Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7872, Pl. 287), gr. 17.15; ε) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.16. PLATE XLII, 9; ζ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ←, gr. 16.99. PLATE XLII, 10.
All of these specimens are from the same obverse die, now somewhat worn, as No. 575 ε and ζ.

580. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, [monogram]. In outer r. field, [monogram]. Circle of dots.

α–β) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β) Berlin, gr. 10.56; γ) London; δ) Newell, ←, gr. 10.31. PLATE XLII, 11; ε) Newell, ↓, gr. 11.20. PLATE LVI, 22.

581. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms but in reverse order.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 4.575; β) London; γ) Newell, ↖, gr. 4.70. PLATE XLII, 12.

582. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar, but with the monograms in the same order as on No. 580.

Newell, ↑, gr. 4.75. PLATE XLII, 13.

583. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

Berlin, gr. 3.01.

584. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, [monogram].

Berlin, gr. 10.71. PLATE XLII, 14.

GROUP C

585. BRONZE TRIPLE.

Diademed, youthful head of Antiochus III to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Winged victory advancing to l., holds palm branch in lowered l., and wreath in her r. extended above an inverted ANCHOR in the field. In outer l. field, [monogram]. In outer r. field, [monogram].

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β) Newell, ↘, gr. 7.62; γ) Berlin, gr. 7.48; δ) Berlin, gr. 8.37. PLATE XLII, 15; ε) Berlin, gr. 7.88, ↙. PLATE XLII, 16; ζ) London (Gardner, p. 10, No. 23, Pl. iv, 1), ↖, gr. 8.12. PLATE XLII, 17.

586. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) Berlin, gr. 3.04; β) London, gr. 3.66; γ) London, ↓, gr. 3.79. PLATE XLII, 18; δ) Newell (Clark Coll., Urumia), ↖, gr. 4.62. PLATE XLII, 19.

587. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) London, gr. 1.59; β) London, →, gr. 1.61. PLATE XLII, 20.

The unusually youthful type of head appearing on these coins might seem to suggest that they should be placed at the very outset of the reign, that is, before the revolt of Molon. Owing to the fact, however, that the coins from Nos. 575 to 587 are so closely knit together by style and monograms, while an identity of obverse die exists between the two tetradrachms Nos. 575 and 579, they probably form a single issue of several years duration and cannot reasonably be assigned to the short year intervening between the accession of Antiochus III and the proclamation of his own independence by Molon. The die which was first employed for No. 575 ε and ζ, and then re-used for No. 579, now shows signs of considerable wear; and it is hardly likely that if such a die had been cut and used before the rebellion, it would be carefully preserved during Molon's two-year reign in order to be re-used later. Existing dies of the legitimate king would, in all probability, have been quickly destroyed by the rebel's officials, Otherwise, we must suppose the latter to have remained secretly (and dangerously) loyal to Antiochus; and for such a romantic explanation there are no grounds. Furthermore, the bronze coins Nos. 585–587, PLATE XLII, 15–20, bear the significant reverse type of Nike holding a wreath above the Seleucid anchor. In this purely dynastic emblem crowned by Nike, must we not see an allusion to the victorious return to Ecbatana of legitimate Seleucid rule? At any other place in the series this peculiar type might possess no particular import, but here it suits the historical circumstances exactly.

The monograms on the bronze coins are usually rather carelessly cut and, in addition, are often partially or entirely off flan. We cannot, therefore, in every instance, be certain of their exact form, but obviously the intention of the die-cutters was to reproduce the two monograms  and  (sometimes), as on the accompanying silver. The latter are definitely placed at Ecbatana by their style and fabric, and above all, by the presence of the mintmark, the HORSE'S HEAD. The style and fabric of the bronze coins, as well as their provenance when known, also point to the Ecbatana mint. It will be noticed that henceforth the silver coins tend to follow the bronze in the increasingly irregular position of their dies, the old practice of inverting the reverse die having now been almost completely abandoned.

SERIES II, *c.* 215–209 B. C.

588. TETRADRACHM.

Older, diademed head of Antiochus III to r. The diadem-ends hang straight.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, drapery over r. thigh, seated to l. on *omphalos* with bow and arrow. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡕.

α) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 976, Pl. 35), ↑, gr. 17.04. PLATE XLII, 21; *β*) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 973, Pl. 35), ↓, gr. 17.10. PLATE XLII, 22.

589. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar diademed head of Antiochus to r. Circle of large dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ANTIOXOY on r. HORSE'S HEAD to r. Beneath, 𐡀𐡕.

Newell (Petrowicz Coll., ex Alichan Coll., Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 828, Pl. 28), ↖, gr. 1.95. PLATE XLIII, 1.

590. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α) London, ←, gr. 0.63; *β*–*γ*) London (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 830), ↓, gr. 0.60; ↑, gr. 0.66. PLATE XLIII, 2; *δ*) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 829, Pl. 28), ↖, gr. 0.67. PLATE XLIII, 3; *ε*) Jameson Coll., No. 1693, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 0.69.

BRONZE—GROUP A

591. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, nude, standing to r., holds arrow in lowered r., and bow in outstretched l. In outer l. field, 𐡀. In outer r. field, 𐡕 above an inverted ANCHOR. Sometimes the order of the monograms is reversed. Circle of dots.

α) London (Petrowicz Coll.), ↓, gr. 17.90. PLATE XLIII, 6; *β*) Rome (Vatican Coll.); *γ*) London, ←, gr. 14.92; *δ*) Newell, ↓, gr. 18.33; *ε*) Newell, ←, gr. 14.77; *ζ*) Berlin, gr. 16.03; *ζ*) Berlin, ↗, gr. 17.88; *η*) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 18.10. PLATE XLIII, 5; *θ*) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.12. PLATE XLIII, 4; *ι*) Rogers Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. I, 1921, p. 29, No. 4a, Pl. ii, gr. 17.30.

592. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

Newell, →, gr. 7.80. PLATE XLIII, 7.

593. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

α) London, ↘, gr. 3.50; *β*) London, →, gr. 3.88. PLATE XLIII, 8; *β*) Rogers' Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. I, 1921, p. 29, No. 4b, gr. 2.79; *γ*) Berlin, gr. 3.57. PLATE XLIII, 9; *δ*) Newell, ↗, gr. 3.81.

BRONZE—GROUP B

594. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated on *omphalos* to l., rests l. on bow, holds arrow in outstretched r. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡓 above ELEPHANT'S HEAD to l. In outer r. field, 𐡀.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 430, No. 64), gr. 24.10. PLATE XLIII, 10.

595. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding. Heads both of "old" style and of rugged "new" style. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 430, No. 65), gr. 14.50; β) Newell, ↖, gr. 12.54. PLATE XLIII, 11.

596. BRONZE TRIPLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 430, No. 661, gr. 10.60. PLATE XLIII, 12; β) Newell (from Persia), →, gr. 10.74, PLATE XLIII, 13; Berlin, gr. 10.45. PLATE XLIII, 14.

597. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

No specimen as yet known.

598. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Heads of both "old" and "new" style.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

α) Newell, →, gr. 2.20; β) Newell (from Irak), ←, gr. 3.82. PLATE XLIII, 16; γ) Berlin, gr. 4.57. PLATE XLIII, 15.

BRONZE—GROUP C

599. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Types as below. No specimen yet recorded.

600. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. in circle of large dots. Portrait of "new" style. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Tripod, with *holmos*, adorned with fillets dependent on either side. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡓 (placed sidewise).

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↙, gr. 12.735. PLATE XLIII, 17; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 56), gr. 13.85. PLATE XLIII, 18.

601. BRONZE TRIPLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β) London, gr. 10.82; γ) Excavations of Rayy, 1934, gr. 10.90.

602. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Berlin, gr. 7.30. PLATE XLIII, 19; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 57), gr. 6.65; γ) Wilson Coll. (from Azerbaijan), ←, gr. 5.47; δ) Newell, ←, gr. 5.00; ε) Rogers Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 247, No. 14, Pl. x, 1, gr. 6.35; ζ) Berlin, gr. 5.395.

603. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Heads of both "old" and "new" style. Bevelled edge. Similar to the preceding.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 58), gr. 3.26; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 2.51. PLATE XLIII, 21; γ) Wilson Coll. (from Azerbaijan), ↙, gr. 3.41; δ–ε) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; ζ–ξ) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↓, gr. 2.82, ↓, gr. 2.34; η) Newell, ↓, gr. 3.39. PLATE XLIII, 23; θ) Berlin, gr. 2.39. PLATE XLIII, 20; ι) Berlin, gr. 2.63. PLATE XLIII, 22.

The issues of Ecbatana continue in Series II with a distinctly more mature portrait of Antiochus III (cf. PLATE XLII, 21–22) than heretofore at this mint. The horse's head now temporarily disappears as a mintmark from the tetradrachms, as it already had from the bronze coins. On the other hand, minor silver fractions (Nos. 589–90, PLATE XLIII, 1–3) occur which adopt the head of a horse as their reverse type, and this, together with the accompanying monogram, point to Ecbatana as their mint. Furthermore, the characteristic fabric and the continued presence of the monogram [illegible] on all of the coins of the issue, both silver and bronze, assure us that we still have before us coinages of the Median capital. This probability is made certain by the usual Iranian provenance of the bronze coins. On the silver, the diadem-ends now fall stiffly downwards in nearly parallel lines, while on the bronze a somewhat similar arrangement gradually replaces the more agitated disposition which hitherto had enjoyed such a vogue in the eastern mints of the Seleucid empire.

In Series II, the bronze coins display three different reverse types, which have been catalogued under Groups A (standing Apollo, Nos. 591–3, PLATE XLIII, 4–9), B (seated Apollo, Nos. 594–8, PLATE XLIII, 10–16), and C (tripod, Nos. 599–603, PLATE XLIII, 17–23). With Group B, the heavy bronze octuple is again introduced and continues to be coined for a number of years. Group B is to be distinguished from the similar bronze coins of Series I, Groups A and B (Nos. 576–8, PLATE XLII, 7–8 and Nos. 580–4, PLATE XLII, 11–14) by the older features of Antiochus and by the presence of the ELEPHANT'S HEAD beneath the monogram in the outer left field. With this particular group, also, a narrower head with more rugged profile, surrounded by a circle of large dots, appears for the first time (PLATE XLIII, 11, 16), and continues through Group C (cf. PLATE

XLIII, 18–19, 21–23). As this same type of portrait, with its surrounding circle of large dots, also appears on one of the silver tetradrachms of Series III (PLATE XLIV, 11), it is quite possible that some of these bronze coins may actually have been coined in the following period. The large, widely spaced pellets found on some of our bronze pieces are also to be seen on the hemidrachm and on the obol (Nos. 589 and 590, PLATE XLIII, 1–3), which certainly seem to belong to Series II.

SERIES III, *c.* 209–205 B. C.

604. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Behind, ΔI. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, drapery on r. thigh, seated to l. on *omphalos*. Circle of dots.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.89. PLATE XLIV, 1.

605. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with ΔI in the exergue.

α) Milan. PLATE XLIV, 2; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 988, Pl. 36, gr. 17.11; γ) Electrotype, ↓. PLATE XLIV, 3; δ) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 989, Pl. 36 = Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1070, Pl. 37), ↑, gr. 17.08. PLATE XLIV, 5; ε) Turin Museo Archeologico. *Museo Numismatico Lavy*, Parte Prima, p. 242, No. 2562); ζ) Berlin, gr. 16.88. PLATE XLIV, 4; ζ) Berlin (Sperling Coll.), gr. 17.06. PLATE XLIV, 6; η) London (Gardner, p. 110, No. 11a), ↑, gr. 16.94. PLATE XLIV, 7; θ) Cons. Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4052, Pl. liii, gr. 17.02; ι) Babelon (Paris, No. 387), gr. 17.10.
α and β are from the same obverse die as No. 604; γ and ε are from another obverse die; ζ, η, and θ are from yet a third.

605A. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as No. 605 δ.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, 𐡀. In the exergue, IΔ.

Berlin (Sperling Coll.). PLATE LVI, 23.

606. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, 𐡀. In the exergue, ΔI.

α) Turin (Museo Archeologico. Fabretti, No. 4595), gr. 16.97. PLATE XLIV, 8; β) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 32, No. 22), gr. 17.07.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

607. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Behind head, ΔI.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, AC. In the exergue, ΔI.

α) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 32, No. 23, Pl. lxv, 12), gr. 16.86. PLATE XLIV, 9; β) Berlin, gr. 17.00. PLATE XLIV, 10. β is from the same obverse die as 605 δ.

608. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. The diadem-ends are sometimes fringed. No letters behind the head. Circle of dots.

Inscription and type as above. In the exergue, ΔI. The style is frequently crude and the encircling dots large.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.62. PLATE XLIV, 11; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 16.95. PLATE XLIV, 12; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.46; δ) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 32, No. 21), gr. 16.35; ε–ζ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, Nos. 986 (= Gallet Coll., Florange-Ciani Sale, May 1924, No. 28, Pl. ii) and 987, Pls. 35–36, gr. 17.03 and 16.98; ζ) Munich, ↑, gr. 16.80; η) Hirsch Sale XXXIII, Nov. 1913, No. 893, Pl. xxi, gr. 16.53; θ) Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4447, Pl. lv. gr. 17.00; ι) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 16.87. PLATE XLV, 1; κ) Cahn Sale 61, Dec. 1928, No. 162, Pl. v, gr. 17.10; λ) Munich, ↑, gr. 17.10. PLATE XLV, 2; μ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Blumenthal Gift), ↑. PLATE XLV, 3; ν) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 377), ↑, gr. 17.07; ξ) London (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 481, Pl. iv, gr. 16.91. PLATE XLV, 4; ο) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 16.04; π) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.16; ρ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 990, Pl. 36, gr. 17.02; σ) Paris (Babelon, No. 363, Pl. ix, 8), gr. 16.60; τ) Locker-Lampson Coll., No. 345, Pl. xxvi (= Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1957, Pl. 71), gr. 16.94; υ) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 376), ↑, gr. 17 06. PLATE XLV, 5; φ) Istanbul (*Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, 1916, p. 43, No. 400, Pl. i), gr. 16.87; χ) Berlin, gr. 16.33. PLATE XLV, 6; ψ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.05. PLATE XLV, 7; ω) Istanbul (*Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, 1916, p. 43, No. 401, Pl. i), gr. 16.91; αα–ββ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, Nos. 2953 and 2954, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 17.16 and 17.05; γγ) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 800, Pl. 14, gr. 16.75; δδ) Newell, ↗, gr. 16.90. PLATE XLV, 8; εε) Paris (Babelon, No. 364), gr. 16.90; ϝϝ) Paris (Babelon, No. 377), gr. 17.00.

β, γ and δ are from one obverse die; ε, ϝ, ζ, η, θ and ι are from a second; κ, λ and μ from a third; ξ, ο, π, ρ and σ from a fourth; ψ and ω from a fifth; αα, ββ, γγ and δδ from a sixth.

609. TETRADRACHM.

Same die, but more worn, as No. 608 β–δ.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, A. In the exergue, ΔΙ.

Newell (Jenks Coll., Henry Chapman Sale, Dec. 1921, No. 150, Pl. 3), ↗, gr. 17.15. PLATE XLV, 9.

BRONZE—GROUP A

610. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Draped and winged victory advancing to l., holds palm in l. and wreath in her outstretched r. In l. inner field, Δ̊Ι above HORSE'S HEAD to l. In inner r. field, Ϡ.

Newell, ↖, gr. 24.12. PLATE XLV, 10.

611. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

α) London (Gardner, p. 27, No. 43, Pl. ix, 6), ↙, gr. 13.52; β) London (Gardner, p. 27, No. 44); γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 438, Pl. x, 16), gr. 11.70; δ–ε) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; ϝ) Newell, ↗, gr. 14.15. PLATE XLV, 11; ζ) Commerce, ←, gr. 10.72; η) London, →, gr. 12.35; θ) Berlin, gr. 10.48; ι) Berlin, gr. 12.06; κ) Berlin, gr. 12.55. PLATE XLV, 12.

612. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β) Newell, ↗, gr. 5.77. PLATE XLVI, 1; γ) Newell, ↓, gr. 5.33. PLATE XLVI, 2; δ) London, ↓, gr. 6.94; ε) London, →, gr. 5.92.

613. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms and symbol.

α) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; β) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↗, gr. 3.90; γ) Newell, ↗, gr. 3.07; δ) Newell, ↖, gr. 2.79. PLATE XLVI, 3; ε) Paris (Babelon, No. 439, Pl. x, 17), gr. 3.75; ζ) London, ←, gr. 3.55; ζ) London, ↖, gr. 2.19; η) Berlin, gr. 3.59; θ) Berlin, gr. 3.05; ι) Berlin, gr. 2.89.

BRONZE—GROUP B

614. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. in circle of large dots. Bevelled edge. | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY below horseman, with lowered lance and flying *chlamys*, charging to r. On l., 𐡀. On r., 𐡕.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 444, Pl. xi, 1. Countermarked: elephant), gr. 26.75. PLATE XLVI, 5; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 21.41. PLATE XLVI, 4; γ) London (Gardner, p. 28, No. 45), ↘, gr. 22.43.

615. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding.

α) London, →, gr. 11.70; β) Berlin, gr. 15.18. PLATE XLVI, 6; γ) Berlin (countermarked: elephant), gr. 14.80. PLATE XLVI, 7; δ) Berlin, gr. 11.31; ε) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 149, No. 301), gr. 10.15.

616. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding.

α) Newell, ←, gr. 6.27; β) London, ←, gr. 5.02; γ) London (countermarked with an elephant r. in oblong incuse), ←, gr. 5.65; δ) Berlin, gr. 6.05. PLATE XLVI, 8; ε) Berlin (countermarked: elephant), gr. 5.88. PLATE XLVI, 9.

617. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 445, Pl. xi, 2), gr. 3.10; β) London, →, gr. 2.92; γ) London, ↗, gr. 3.09. PLATE XLVI, 10; δ) Berlin, gr. 2.20. PLATE XLVI, 11.

617A. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding.

London, ←, gr. 1.21. PLATE XLVI, 12.

BRONZE—GROUP C

618. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Circle of large dots. Bevelled edge. | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY below horse feeding to l. On l., 𐡕. On r., 𐡀.

London, ←, gr. 25.26. PLATE XLVI, 13.

619. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding.

α) London, ↙, gr. 13.37. PLATE XLVI, 14; β) London (Gardner, p. 28, No. 46), ↙, gr. 12.10; γ) Berlin, gr. 11.69. PLATE XLVI, 15; δ) Berlin, gr. 10.63; ε) Newell (countermarked: elephant), →, gr. 11.49. PLATE XLVI, 16; ζ) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll., ↙; ζ) London, ↗, gr. 10.87.

620. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Newell (Clarke Coll., Urumia), ←, gr. 6.08. PLATE XLVI, 17; β) London, ↓, gr. 5.72; γ) Berlin, gr. 6.17; δ) Berlin, gr. 6.41.

621. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, →, gr. 3.26; β) Newell (Clarke Coll., Urumia), ←, gr. 3.96; γ) London, ↓, gr. 3.72. PLATE XLVI, 18; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 449, Pl. xi, 4), gr. 2.75.

BRONZE—GROUP D

622. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Similar head to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ below mare standing l., reverting her head to lick suckling foal. To l., 𐡀𐡕.

α) Newell, ↗, gr. 25.92. PLATE XLVII, 2; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 60), gr. 28.90; γ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 149, No. 297), gr. 26.80; δ) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll., ←; ε) Commerce, ←, gr. 20.18; ζ) Berlin, gr. 28.62. PLATE XLVII, 1.

623. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blu mer Coll., *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 61), gr. 15.00; β) Berlin gr. 12.45; γ–δ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 149, Nos. 295–296), gr. 14.45, 13.75; ε) London, ↘, gr. 13.83. PLATE XLVII, 3; ζ) London (Sir Herman Weber Coll., No. 7877, Pl. 287), ↘, gr. 12.26. PLATE XLVII, 4; ξ) Berlin, gr. 11.84; η) Berlin, gr. 10.09; θ) Berlin, gr. 9.55; ι) Paris (Babelon, No. 446, Pl. xi, 3), gr. 11.40; κ) Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2895, Pl. xxiv; λ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 61 *bis*.) gr. 11.00 (actually, gr. 10.90); μ–ν) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.

624. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 447), gr. 7.70; β–γ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 149, Nos. 298–299), gr. 5.97 and 6.32; δ–ε) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 62), gr. 6.00, 5.50; ζ) London (Gardner, p. 28, No. 47, Pl. ix, 7), ↑, gr. 4.55; ξ) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↘, gr. 5.73; η) Newell, ↗, gr. 5.36. PLATE XLVII, 5; θ) Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.; ι) London, ↖, gr. 4.99. PLATE XLVII, 6; κ–ξ) Berlin, gr. 6.51; 6.49; 6.43; 5.45; 4.35.

625. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram.

α–β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429, No. 63), gr. 3.80, 2.45; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 448), gr. 3.20; δ) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↗, gr. 3.20; ε) Newell, ↓, gr. 3.12; ζ) Newell, ↗, gr. 2.84. PLATE XLVII, 7; ξ) Commerce, ←, gr. 2.97; η) London, ↖, gr. 3.95; θ) London, ↑, gr. 2.56. PLATE XLVII, 8; ι) Collection of Mr. H. Stein, ↓, gr. 2.45; κ) Berlin, gr. 3.87.

Series III of the Ecbatana mint is rendered notable by an exceptionally large coinage in silver—in addition to the usual and numerous bronze issues. In spite of a considerable number of varieties and many differences in style, the entire silver coinage here described gives the impression of having been brought out within a comparatively short period of time. There is a frequent interchange of obverse dies between the several varieties; the magistratal letters ΔI occur on all specimens; the reverse dies throughout are very similar. The die-cutters of the obverses were men of very divergent abilities, but their dies must have been in use contemporaneously since they interchange frequently in the production of the extant specimens. All indications, therefore, point to a very large coinage compressed into the space of a few years and supervised by a single chief official.

The silver issues open with a youngish portrait of Antiochus, his hair plentiful and arranged in heavy locks (PLATE XLIV, 1–4). At first, we have the letters ΔI on the obverse only (No. 604), but thereafter accompanied by the same letters in the exergue of the reverse (Nos. 605–7, PLATE XLIV, 2–10). In this same issue (No. 605, PLATE XLIV, 5) there appears, and for the first time at Ecbatana,[43] the later type of Antiochus III's portrait, i. e. the one with the thinning hair about the temples; the high cheek-bones; long, pointed nose; small mouth with its curiously pursed lips. We also find portraits with a tall, domed forehead showing signs of incipient baldness (PLATE XLIV, 6–7). This issue is followed by a large one (Nos. 608–9, PLATES XLIV, 11–12; XLV, 1–9) which offers a surprising variety in the quality of its styles and portraits. The letters ΔI no longer appear on the obverse, but continue in the exergue of the reverse only. The diadem-ends usually hang downwards in parallel lines, sometimes stiffly, sometimes in gently undulating lines. There is noticeable an increasing tendency to construct the encircling borders on both obverse and reverse of large, widely spaced pellets. Throughout, the reverse dies are for the most part rather crudely executed, while the garment upon the *omphalos* frequently assumes a shape suggestive of the Seleucid anchor. The dies are almost invariably placed in the position ↑↑. That these tetradrachms are actually products of the Ecbatana mint is clearly indicated by the close similarity of their style to preceding as well as to contemporaneous bronze coins which can have been struck in the Median capital, only.

These bronze coins comprise four different reverse types which, accordingly, have been arranged under the Groups A, B, C, and D. Apparently each group once comprised specimens of the four denominations to which we have given the somewhat arbitrary designations of UNIT, DOUBLE, QUADRUPLE and OCTUPLE. These constitute the continuation of the prolific bronze issues of Series I and II, and display the identical fabric and very much the same general style. This, coupled with the presence of the accustomed monogram  in Groups B, C, and D, and the usual provenance of the individual specimens, again assure us that their mint must have been Ecbatana.

[43] A very similar portrait has already been encountered at Seleucia (PLATE XIX, 15, PLATE XX, 1) and at Susa (PLATE XXXI, 4–6).

The first silver issue of Series III bears the mark ΔI. The first bronze issues (Group A, Nos. 610–13, PLATES XLV, 10–12, XLVI, 1–3) bear the monogram ΔΙ, together with another monogram and the recognized mintmark of Ecbatana, the HORSE'S HEAD. The portraits on these bronze coins find close parallels on the silver and are obviously either direct copies or produced by the same die-cutters. Compare, for instance, Nos. 4 and 10 on PLATE XLV; also PLATE XLIV, 11 with PLATE XLV, 11–12, etc. The reverse type of Nike about to crown the king's name probably commemorates the arrival of Antiochus in Media, the high hopes for the success of the great expedition, and the early victories over Arsaces and his Parthians. For this, and for other reasons to be discussed shortly, the beginning of Series III (both silver and bronze) may be placed at about 209–208 B. C.

Group B (Nos. 614–17A) continues to be marked with the monogram , but the other monogram and the horse's head are replaced by the more usual . The reverse type (PLATE XLVI, 4–12) is now the mounted king, with couched lance and flying *chlamys*, after the manner of the Dioscuri, charging to right. In fact, the figure has sometimes been called[44] "one of the Dioscuri," but the present writer fails to see on the coins now before us the characteristic pointed *pilos*, surmounted by a star, which customarily proclaims one or the other of the Divine Twins. Therefore the type more probably represents Antiochus himself, charging the enemy at the head of his cavalry. It obviously celebrates either the defeat and the driving back into their native steppes of the Parthian armies under Arsaces, or, with even greater probability the successful cavalry battle against Euthydemus of Bactria, which won for Antiochus the crossing of the Arius and the conquest of Bactria as far as the gates of Zariaspa (Bactra).[45] For, as Bevan says, "This battle on the Arius did more than anything else to make the reputation of Antiochus III for personal courage. The King himself headed the troop of horse which received the brunt of the leading Bactrian squadron, and fought in the thick of it until relieved by Panaetolus."

Thus our two groups, A and B, may be closely dated, as they offer types which can be connected with the successful Parthian and Bactrian campaigns covering the years 209/8–207/6 B. C. It may also be noted that several of these specimens bear an elephant in counterstamp (Cf. PLATE XLVI, 5, 7, 9) on their reverses, perhaps to commemorate the fortunate outcome of the Bactrian and Indian campaigns which netted for Antiochus so many of these coveted animals.[46]

Group C (Nos. 618–21) again changes the reverse type and we find pictured here (PLATE XLVI, 13–18) a grazing horse, reminding us of that symbol which had for so many years marked the products of the Median mint from the first Seleucus to the second of the name. The usual monogram is again accompanied by , and again we find the elephant countermark on many of the individual pieces.

In the final Group D (Nos. 622–25, PLATE XLVII, 1–8), the horse-raising

[44] Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 58, Nos. 444–5.
[45] Polybius X, 49. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. II, p. 21.
[46] Polybius XI, 39, 10–12.

proclivities of Media are again stressed by the interesting type depicting a mare with her foal. As the usual provenance of these coins also supports their assignment to Media, Imhoof-Blumer's repeated attempts to assign them to Babylonia[47] fall to the ground. His suggestion that large herds of horses were likewise raised on the Babylonian plains is pure supposition based on coins alone, coins which he states reached him from Baghdad. Notwithstanding this, such coins are seldom or never *found* in Irak but are almost invariably brought by merchants and travellers across the mountains from Persia. In this matter Six, although gently ridiculed by Imhoof-Blumer, was absolutely correct when he first suggested[48] the assignment of our coins with the mare and foal to Media. The Swiss scholar has neither ancient authorities nor modern facts to support his thesis. Media, on the other hand, was ever famous for its breed of splendid horses, its rich grazing grounds and lush grass—and these have, in historical times at least, been notably absent from the hot plains of Babylonia.

What, then, may be the true significance of this great coinage in silver and bronze? From a careful and detailed study of the coinage itself, it seems fairly obvious that at this particular period the mint at Ecbatana must suddenly have been called upon to produce within a short space of time an unusually heavy coinage of both bronze and silver, so large in fact that the regular staff of mint officials and die-cutters was insufficient to cope with the increased demand. The regular force apparently concentrated upon the further production of bronze coins; and here, for the most part, we find the same fabric, style and monogram (𐡀𐡓) continued from the immediately preceding issues. The coinage of silver, on the other hand, being both exceptional in character and unusually large in size, was confided to the charge of a special magistrate ΔΙ, and was largely carried out by new die-cutters especially imported for the purpose—but aided from time to time by certain workmen employed in producing the contemporaneous bronze coins. This sudden and greatly expanded activity can be associated with but one event—the famous expedition of Antiochus III to reconquer the eastern provinces of the Seleucid empire.

According to the account of Polybius, Antiochus and the great army which he had assembled in Antioch, descended the Euphrates river by boat in the summer of 210 B. C.[49] By the summer of 209 B. C., he had reached Ecbatana. Here, to finance the ambitious attempt, he laid hands upon the gold and silver plates with which the roof and columns of the temple of Aene (Anaïtis ?) were still covered, or which lay, piled up, in the temple's treasury. In the actual words of Polybius:[50] "when Antiochus reached the place (i. e. Ecbatana), the temple of Aene alone had the columns round it still gilded and a number of silver tiles were piled up in it, while a few gold bricks and a considerable quantity of silver ones remained." What did Antiochus proceed to do with this precious metal so sacrilegiously ac-

[47] *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429; *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 17; *ibid.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, pp. 176–7.

[48] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVII, 1897, p. 219.

[49] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 17.

[50] X. 27, 12–13. Translation by W. R. Paton.

quired? Polybius continues: "From all the objects I have mentioned sufficient was collected to coin money with the king's effigy amounting to very nearly four thousand talents." Here then, clearly stated by a classical historian, is the explanation of the sudden notable increase in the silver coinage of the Ecbatana mint—a coinage preserved to us in the prolific issues, Nos. 604–609, whose metal must thus once have made resplendent beneath an eastern sun the pillars and porticoes, the roofs and walls of the sacred temple of Anaïtis. The accompanying gold coins have not yet turned up, although this is hardly surprising as Polybius himself states that there were only "a few gold bricks" and, in general, Seleucid gold coins have reached us only in comparatively restricted numbers. The further opening up of Persia and Bactria to the explorers' spades will doubtless in the future remedy this defect. The issue of so vast a coinage, representing some twenty-four millions of drachms, was apparently at first confided to the charge of an especially appointed official, one ΔΙ. We must leave undetermined whether this person was solely a mint official, or whether ΔΙ may be taken as the initials of Diogenes himself, the former governor of Susiana who for his loyalty and efficiency had been appointed[51] by Antiochus, after the suppression of Molon's rebellion, to the more important governorship of Media. The ΔΙ of the silver and the Δ of the accompanying bronze (Nos. 611–613), however, strongly suggest this conclusion. In addition, the placing of the initials ΔΙ on the obverse of the first silver coins of the issue is perhaps significant, as such a location is not a usual one for Seleucid silver coinages.

The coinage of Series III, then, commences in 209 B. C. when Antiochus had reached Ecbatana, despoiled the temple of Anaïtis and ordered the stolen metal to be turned into coin for the purpose of financing the great expedition to recover the eastern provinces of the empire. The task was apparently too great for the ordinary facilities of the mint. Additional die-cutters were secured and new officials appointed. As a result, new letters and monograms, together with new and varied styles of die-cutting at once appear on the majority of the coins now issued. The continued presence of the long accustomed monogram ΑΝΤ on the bronze coins of Groups B, C and D suggests that these, at least, were still being produced by the old staff. Certain peculiarities of style carried over from earlier bronze issues support this suggestion. At first the bronze coinages of Series III celebrate in their types the rapidly succeeding victories of Antiochus over the Parthians and the Bactrians. But when a stalemate had been reached during the siege of Zariaspa, followed by more or less lengthy peace negotiations, there were no more stirring events to record and the types of the bronze coins (Groups C and D) turn to celebrating the fertility and equine wealth of Media. In these respects the province must have been of vital importance to Antiochus as it formed his principal base of supplies during the eastern campaigns. The peace with Euthydemus having finally (206 B. C.) been signed and ratified, Antiochus, now in possession of his former foe's war-elephants, crossed the Hindu Kush to bring the Indian provinces to submission. We hear little of the details beyond the fact that Antiochus eventually came to terms with the Indian

[51] Polybius V, 54, 12.

prince Sophagasenus, towards the close of 206 B. C., and, bringing back with him a total of one hundred and fifty elephants, returned to Babylonia (205 B. C.).

As we shall see, these eastern triumphs of Antiochus were soon to be appropriately commemorated in the succeeding issue (Series IV) by the appearance on both silver and bronze coins of the Indian elephant. For the present coinage, however, the only allusion to the final successes in Bactria and India lies, perhaps, in the little elephant punched into the reverses of so many of the bronze coins of Groups B and C. As the countermark seems never to occur on the coins of Groups A and D, but only on those of B and C, we may perhaps be justified in assuming that it was applied to the latter at the time when the news of Antiochus' successful completion of peace negotiations with either Euthydemus or Sophagasenus (or with both) reached Ecbatana. The tiny elephant would be appropriately symbolic both of Bactro-Indian victories as of the price in coveted war-elephants which his adversaries paid to Antiochus for his early departure from their territories. The complete absence of the punchmark on the coins of Group D would seem to suggest that the latter coins appeared in 205 B. C. while Antiochus with his army was wending his way back through southern Iran to Babylonia. These observations, then, serve to place the end of Series III and the beginning of Series IV at about 205–4 B. C.

SERIES IV, *c.* 205–200 B. C.

626. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., with straight diadem-ends. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ below elephant advancing to r. Behind elephant ΞΙ. Circle of widely spaced dots.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.05. PLATE XLVII, 9.

627. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To l., 𐡀; to r., IE.

α) Munich, ↑, gr. 16.65. PLATE XLVII, 10; *β*) London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 29), ↑, gr. 17.24. PLATE XLVII, 11.

α and *β* are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

628. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of king to r., surrounded by a fillet border.

Similar to the preceding. To l., 𐡀; to r., 𐡇.

α) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 842, Pl. 25, gr. 14.83 (piece broken out); *β*) London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 28, Pl. ix, 1), ↑, gr. 16.98. PLATE XLVII, 12.

629. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To l., 𐡂; to r., 𐡀 (?).

Berlin, gr. 16.71. PLATE XLVII, 13.

630. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. To l., 𐡌; to r., M.

Paris (Babelon, No. 394, Pl. ix, 2), gr. 16.90. PLATE XLVIII, 1.

631. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. To r. of elephant, 𐡌.

α) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2957, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 3.79; β) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2796, Pl. lxxvi (= Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, Part II, No. 7873, Pl. 287), ↑, gr. 4.10; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 1005, Pl. 36, gr. 4.08; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 1007, Pl. 36, gr. 3.76; ε) Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1071, Pl. 37, gr. 4.05; ϝ) Strozzi Coll., Rome, April, 1907, No. 1665, Pl. xi; ζ–η) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 382, ↑, gr. 3.93 and No. 383, ↑, gr. 3.63; θ) Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1039, Pl. 16, gr. 3.99; ι) Newell, ↑, gr. 3.99. PLATE XLVII, 14; κ) Newell, ↑, gr. 4.07. PLATE XLVII, 15; λ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (J. Ward Coll., p. 127, No. 784), gr. 3.51; μ) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 669, Pl. xviii, gr. 3.84; ν–ξ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 1006, gr. 4.00 and No. 1008, gr. 4.05, Pl. 36; ο) Schlessinger Sale 11, Feb. 1934, No. 331, Pl. 10, gr. 4.; π) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ↑, gr. 3.79. PLATE XLVII, 16; ρ) Cahn Sale 66, May 1930, No. 367, Pl. 11, gr. 4.10; σ) Newell, ↑, gr. 3.81; τ) Paris (Babelon, No. 395, Pl. x, 3), gr. 4.15; υ) Jameson Coll., No. 1689, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 3.88.

α–θ are from the same obverse die; ν–ρ are from another obverse die.

BRONZE ISSUES—GROUP A

632. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ below elephant advancing r., surmounted by its *mahout*. Behind elephant, tripod. In front, 𐡌𐡑 (sometimes degenerating to 𐡌).

α) Paris, PLATE XLVIII, 2; β) London, ↗, gr. 16.33. PLATE XLVIII, 3; γ) London, ↖, gr. 16.01. PLATE XLVIII, 4; δ) London, ↑, gr. 14.99; ε) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.24; ϝ) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 14.89. PLATE XLVIII, 5; ζ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 15.37. PLATE XLVIII, 6.

633. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram.

α) Newell (countermarked: Anchor in oblong incuse), ↖, gr. 7.32; β) Newell, ↙, gr. 7.60. PLATE XLVIII, 7; γ) London, →, gr. 7.28; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 421, countermarked: Anchor and Horse's Head), gr. 8.70; ε) Paris (Babelon, No. 422), gr. 9.50; ϝ) London, ↑, gr. 7.67; ϝ) Berlin, gr. 8.30.

634. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) London, ↘, gr. 4.50. PLATE XLVIII, 8; β) London, ↘, gr. 3.07 (countermarked: anchor); γ) Berlin, gr. 3.40.

GROUP B

635. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., as on the preceding coins. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge. Inscription and types as on the preceding coins. Beneath the elephant, 𐡏. In front, 𐡌𐡑.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.29. PLATE XLVIII, 9.

636. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to No. 635.

Similar to No. 635, but with the monogram ⊓ beneath the elephant.

Newell, ↑, gr. 7.63. PLATE XLVIII, 10.

637. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but again with ⊓ beneath the elephant.

α) Newell (from Persia), ↘, gr. 3.73. PLATE XLVIII, 11; β) Excavations of Rayy, 1934, gr. 4.00.

The issues assembled under Series IV are characterized by a complete change in their reverse types. Here the accustomed seated Apollo of the silver and the various Nikes, charging horsemen, grazing mares and suckling foals of the bronze give way to a majestic Indian elephant which is so obviously intended to commemorate the eastern triumphs of Antiochus. The earliest of the new tetradrachms, Nos. 626–7, PLATE XLVII, 9–11, directly continues the style and the type of portraiture first introduced at Ecbatana by Series III.[52] We still find certain characteristic details, such as the high forehead, receding hair, prominent cheekbone and sunken cheeks, long, thin neck, long pointed nose and small mouth. The widely spaced pellets of the circle about the obverse and reverse recur again. It seems clear that in these tetradrachms we possess the direct continuation of the silver issues of Series III. Associated with the larger denomination is a prolific issue of drachms (No. 631, PLATE XLVII, 14–16) which are similar in style and, for the most part, bear a monogram like the one found on the tetradrachms.

The first of the new tetradrachms (PLATE XLVII, 9) was re-coined on an older piece, of whose types only a portion of the surrounding beaded circle and the short, fluttering ends of the diadem may still be made out. These are insufficient for us to determine the exact variety of the earlier coin, but it was probably not an issue of Ecbatana as that mint did not favor diadem-ends of this particular type. The coin No. 626 is united with its successor No. 627 by an identical obverse die and by the magistrate's letters I E. Accompanying these letters on No. 627 is the monogram ⋕, which recurs not only on the immediately succeeding tetradrachms Nos. 628–630, but also on the drachm No. 631. For it is practically certain that the somewhat carelessly rendered forms (⋕, ⋕, ⋕) were all supposed to represent the same magistrate. The tetradrachms Nos. 628–630 (PLATE XLVII, 12–13, XLVIII, 1) present a more western type of portrait, surrounded by a fillet border, which is also a form of numismatic decoration more popular in the western than in the eastern mints; for which reasons the present writer formerly assigned these tetradrachms to Antioch in Syria.[53] That they are actually of eastern origin, however, is shown by their close connection with Nos. 626–7, through the monogram ⋕, as also by their fabric and general appearance which is rougher and lacks

[52] Compare PLATE XLVII, 9–11 with PLATE XLV, 1–6.

[53] *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. LI, 1917, pp. 8–11.

the elegance and smooth finish of contemporaneous Antiochene issues. While the usual provenance of the tetradrachms is unknown,[54] the drachms as a rule come from Persia and so substantiate an attribution to Ecbatana.

We have already learned[55] that an issue, commemorating by its reverse type of the elephant the great eastern expedition of Antiochus, had been coined about this time in Seleucia on the Tigris. A similar issue of gold staters also appeared at Susa.[56] But these coinages seem to have been more or less ephemeral, and soon were replaced by the standard coinage of the empire. We now see that Ecbatana, like her sister mints, also adopted the reverse type of the Indian elephant which not only commemorates the spoils of war brought back by Antiochus but which, in the early days of the empire, had ever been so closely associated with victorious campaigns in India. Possibly because Ecbatana was situated nearer to the scene of triumph, had formed the principal Seleucid base of supplies, and had thus been more intimately connected with the events and outcome of the conflict, she issued the elephant coins in greater quantities and for a longer duration of time than did the other mints. The apparent extent of these silver issues may also indicate that the vast amount of precious metal, of which the temple of Anaïtis had so recently been robbed, had not yet been completely exhausted.

The accompanying bronze coins (Nos. 632–637, PLATE XLVIII, 2–11) also bear an elephant on their reverses. Here, however, the beast is surmounted by its *mahout* and is accompanied by Apollo's tripod and the customary monogram ⋔ (sometimes degenerating into ⋔). The coins have been divided into two groups, A and B, according to the presence or absence of a second monogram beneath the elephant. The general type and character of the portrait is similar to that found on the tetradrachms Nos. 628–630. This fact taken in conjunction with fabric and monogram (both now known to be characteristic of the issues of Ecbátana) assure us that the bronze coins, too, were once coined in the capital of Media. Care, however, must be taken not to confuse these Median copper coins with a very similar issue coined under Antiochus III at Antioch in Syria. The types on both issues are practically identical, except that the head on the Syrian coins wears a laurel wreath instead of a diadem; and while its features sometimes suggest those of Antiochus, often they are without individuality, and the head must be intended for that of Apollo. In addition, the edges of the Antiochene issue are never bevelled; the reverses are somewhat more carefully cut; there is no monogram in front of the elephant, although beneath it are certain indistinct letters (Σ Φ ?) instead of a monogram. Typical specimens of these Antiochene coins may be seen on Plate X, No. 10 of Babelon's *Rois de Syrie* and on Plate IX, No. 5 of the British Museum Catalogue.

[54] The Paris tetradrachm, No. 630, was in the de Luynes collection and is stated by Waddington, *Mélanges de numismatique*, 2nd Part, 1867, p. 6, to have come from the Amasia Find, in north-eastern Asia Minor.

[55] See above pp. 94–5.

[56] See above p. 143.

SERIES V, *c.* 200–187 B. C.

638. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* resting l. upon bow and holding arrow in outstretched r. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡕 above HORSE'S HEAD to l.

Cahn Sale 84, Nov. 1933, No. 408, gr. 16.79. Pl. 14. PLATE XLVIII, 12.

639. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Uncertain letters or monograms in both outer r. and outer l. fields.

Newell, ↗, gr. 3.90. PLATE XLVIII, 13.

640. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper inner l. field, 𐡁 (?), though more probably, 𐡓.

Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 34, No. 31, Pl. lxv, 15), gr. 4.00. PLATE XLVIII, 14.

641. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper inner l. field, 𐡌.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 996, Pl. 36, gr. 4.07.

642. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper inner l. field, 𐡍. In outer l. field, 𐡄.

Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll. *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 380), ↖, gr. 4.02.

643. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, 𐡃. In outer l. field, uncertain monogram.

Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll. *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 381), ↖, gr. 4.01.

644. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper inner l. field, 𐡓. In outer l. field, 𐡄 (?).

Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll. *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 379), ↑, gr. 4.10.

645. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper inner l. field, 𐡔. In outer l. field, 𐡀𐡕.

Newell (from a Persian hoard), ←, gr. 3.91. PLATE XLVIII, 15.

646. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper inner l. field, 𐡔. In outer r. field, 𐡊.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 1001, Pl. 36, gr. 4.04; β) Newell, ←, gr. 4.02. PLATE XLVIII, 16; γ) Athens.
All are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

647. DRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In upper inner l. field, 𐡎. In the exergue, 𐡆.

Newell (Gen. Starosselsky's Coll.), ↙, gr. 4.00. PLATE XLVIII, 17.

647A. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In upper inner l. field, 𐡎.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 938, Pl. 32, gr. 4.03.

Eventually, perhaps sometime between 200 and 195 B. C., the elephant is replaced on the silver coins by the more usual Seleucid type of the seated Apollo. Only one tetradrachm (No. 638, PLATE XLVIII, 12) of the new issue is at present known, but the accompanying drachms are comparatively common. The earliest of these latter (No. 639, PLATE XLVIII, 13) is stylistically united with the preceding elephant drachms, as a comparison between their portrait heads clearly demonstrates. On the tetradrachm, we again find the now usual monogram 𐡀𐡓, associated with the HORSE'S HEAD which has become the accepted emblem of the Ecbatana mint. The drachms sometimes bear this same monogram (No. 645), but more often a new one, 𐡎 or 𐡅𐡓, which is destined frequently to mark the Ecbatana drachms in the immediately succeeding reigns of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV. Our final issues glide directly into the first issues of Seleucus IV[57] which actually differ from those of Antiochus III only in the royal name which they bear. The style and fabric is the same and the die-cutters at first continued to employ Antiochus' features for those of his son. The tetradrachms of Seleucus IV also bear 𐡀𐡓 and the horse's head symbol,[58] while the drachms have 𐡀𐡓 or 𐡅𐡓, or sometimes (PLATE XLIX, 17) both together. These drachms usually reach the western coin market from Persia, and several of them turned up in a hoard recently acquired in Hamadan.[59]

LATE BRONZE ISSUES OF ECBATANA

GROUP A

648. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ below elephant walking to r. Around neck, Bell. To l. of elephant, INVERTED ANCHOR. Below elephant, 𐡇.

[57] Compare them, for instance, with Nos. 385–387 and 389, *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, and PLATE XLIX, 16 of the present work.

[58] H. de Nanteuil, *Collection de monnaies grecques*, Paris, 1925, No. 492, Pl. xxxi. There is a similar specimen in the author's collection (cf. our PLATE XLIX, 15).

[59] S. P. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, No. 810.

α) Newell (countermarked: Horse's Head r.), ↑, gr. 15.88. PLATE XLIX, 1; β) Newell, ↗, gr. 13.84. PLATE XLIX, 2; γ) London (Gardner, p. 27, No. 36, Pl. ix, 4), ↗, gr. 18.39. PLATE XLIX, 3; δ) London (beneath elephant: ⌧), ←, gr. 16.72; ε) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 35, No. 39. Countermarked: Horse's Head), gr. 14.97; ζ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 148, No. 282), gr. 15.68; ζ) Newell (monogram ⌧), ↖, gr. 16.36.

649. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

London, ↗, gr. 8.25. PLATE XLIX, 5.

650. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but the monogram has the form ⌧.

α) London (Gardner, p. 27, No. 37), ↗, gr. 7.19; β) Berlin, gr. 9.12. PLATE XLIX, 4; γ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 148, No. 281), gr. 10.05.

651. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) London (Gardner, p. 27, No. 38), ↗, gr. 4.35; β) London (Gardner, p. 27, No. 39), ↖, gr. 4.88. PLATE XLIX, 7; γ) Berlin, gr. 4.26. PLATE XLIX, 8; δ) Berlin, gr. 3.79; ε) Berlin, gr. 3.55; ζ) Newell, ↗, gr. 4.59. PLATE XLIX, 6.

GROUP B

(Not certainly of the Ecbatana mint)

652. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Same inscription as on the preceding. Elephant (with *mahout* ?) to r. Behind, tripod. Beneath, HORSE'S HEAD to r.

Berlin, gr. 11.69. PLATE XLIX, 9.

653. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Laureate head of Apollo, hair rolled at neck, to r. Crude style. Circle of dots. Elephant, surmounted by its *mahout*, to r. Behind, anchor. Beneath, EAGLE'S HEAD r. In front, ⊢⊣ (?). Crude style.

Paris (Babelon, No. 423, Pl. x, 11), gr. 10.05. PLATE XLIX, 10.

654. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

Very summarily described (hence possibly not belonging here) in *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XXV, p. 21, No. 8. Gr. 3.75.

GROUP C

(Not certainly of the Ecbatana mint)

655. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge. Same inscription. Elephant advancing to l. Behind, Σ⊏.

α) Newell (countermarked, Facing Helios Bust), ↖, gr. 8.84. PLATE XLIX, 11; β) Commerce, ↙, gr. 6.56 (very worn).

GROUP D

Coins Countermarked at Ecbatana?

656. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate or diademed head to r. — *Mahout* on elephant to r. Behind, tripod. Always beneath the elephant is placed a countermark containing a horse's head to r. in an incuse square. Accompanying this, usually above the elephant, is another countermark of an anchor in an oblong incuse.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 7.23. PLATE XLIX, 12; β) London, ↑, gr. 11.35. PLATE XLIX, 13; γ) London, ↑, gr. 10.51. PLATE XLIX, 14; δ–ζ) Paris (Babelon Nos. 410, 420–422), gr. 5.70; 11.25; 8.70; 9.50.

In fabric and general appearance Nos. 648–51, PLATE XLIX, 1–8, greatly resemble the other bronze issues of Ecbatana, and so probably emanated from that mint. The majority of the portraits present close affinities with those occurring on the silver drachms both of the elephant and the seated Apollo types. Yet the portrait of No. 649, PLATE XLIX, 5, more nearly resembles the head found on certain Susian issues (cf. PLATE XXX, 3–9). So much so is this the case, that the writer would have been tempted definitely to assign these coins to that mint, had it not been for the fact that no similar pieces appear to have turned up in the excavations of Susa[60] and such closely knit series of denominations, both large and small, are more characteristic of the Ecbatana coinages than of those of Susa. Any decision in the matter is perhaps inadvisable at present, until further find-spots are recorded. It may be assumed as very probable, however, that the characteristic countermark of the horse's head was punched upon the coin illustrated, PLATE XLIX, 1, at Ecbatana, for this symbol is also found upon many of its certain issues, both as a mintmark engraved in the die or as a later countermark.[61]

Groups B and C comprise some miscellaneous coins which by their style are assignable to the close of Antiochus III's reign, but whose origin in Ecbatana is here merely suggested. The style of No. 652, PLATE XLIX, 9, is not unlike that found on the coins of Group A, while the horse's head symbol beneath the elephant (and graved into the die itself) is distinctly Median in its connotation. No. 653, PLATE XLIX, 10, because of its crude style and the mixture noticeable in the details of its types, appears to be an imitation of several of the issues here described.

[60] *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XX, p. 25, Nos. 16–18, describes three worn pieces with the head of Antiochus III or Apollo on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse. No details are apparently distinguishable. In Vol. XXV, p. 21, No. 8, a similar small coin (gr. 3.75) is described, but the reference given is Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, No. 437, Pl. x, 15, which is an issue of Antioch.

[61] Cf. No. 633.

The laureate Apollo head, with its rolled hair, is copied from No. 655, PLATE XLIX, 11; the elephant with its *mahout* is taken from Nos. 632–7, PLATE XLVIII, 2–11; the anchor behind is adopted from the design of Nos. 648–51, PLATE XLIX, 1–8; the monogram *may* be an attempt to reproduce the monogram 𐡌 (or 𐡌) of Nos. 632–7; while the eagle's head beneath the elephant is probably a blundering attempt to reproduce the horse's head of PLATE XLIX, 1 and 9. No. 655, PLATE XLIX, 11, has been included here because of its fabric which seems to be distinctly Median in character, and because its Apollo head has been copied on No. 653, a piece that constitutes a comprehensive imitation of all these later issues of Ecbatana. On the other hand, the countermark of the facing Helios head suggests Susa, but that need not necessarily induce us to assign the coin itself to the latter mint.

The three countermarked specimens of No. 656, PLATE XLIX, 12–14, have been included here, not because the coins themselves may have been struck at Ecbatana[62] but because the countermarks are so clearly suggestive of that mint. This countermarking may have preceded, or even been contemporaneous with, the issue of No. 652. The purpose may have been to indicate the approval of the authorities in Ecbatana and to adapt these particular pieces for continued circulation in Media.

Finally, Nos. 15–17 have been added to PLATE XLIX in order to illustrate the immediately succeeding silver issues of Ecbatana under the new king, Seleucus IV.

[62] Actually the pieces in question appear, rather, to be issues of Antioch. But long circulation, and the disturbance to the designs caused by the deeply applied punchmarks, have obliterated any sure criteria for their definite attribution. As their flans are not bevelled they are almost certainly not issues of Ecbatana.

CHAPTER VI

BACTRA

The probability that the Seleucid kings early possessed an important mint in the far eastern portion of their dominions was first made obvious by the discovery of the great Oxus treasure in 1877–8.[1] The historical and numismatic importance of this find, the description of some of the principal coins which it contained, a suggested assignment of those of Seleucid type to some mint preferably located not too far away from the place of discovery,[2] were outlined and discussed by Percy Gardner in several articles appearing in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1879, 1880 and 1881. A more detailed list of the coins and other objects found was given by Gen. Cunningham in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, Vol. 50, pp. 151–186. Gardner's conjecture that the Seleucid coins, to judge by their monograms, were struck at Dionysopolis or Nysa, "a city of the Paropamisus, identified by General Cunningham with the modern Begram, near Cabul"[3] was later combatted by Sir Henry Howorth[4] who would locate their mint at Nissa, thought by him to have been the capital of Parthyene or Khorasan.

In discarding a supposed mint at Dionysopolis-Nysa-Begram, Sir Henry Howorth was undoubtedly correct, his belief being formed largely because "it is probable that this area was made over to Chandra Gupta in the famous treaty he made with Seleucus, and was therefore not subject to the early Seleucidans at all."[5] Sir Henry's alternative proposal to locate the mint at Nissa in Parthia, while perhaps plausible in itself, loses this plausibility[6] when contrasted with the far more likely assignment of the mint to the metropolis of Bactria. Certain it is that under the Seleucids the great province of Bactria was both extremely populous and astonishingly wealthy; was economically of immense importance as the terminus of the great highway from Babylonia and the west, via Ecbatana, to the east; and enjoyed the closest commercial and cultural relations with Central Asia and India.[6a] In so populous, wealthy and highly civilized a region the need of coined money as a circulating medium would soon be keenly felt. On the other hand, Bactria was

[1] S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, 2nd Edition, No. 778.

[2] Indicated by Mr. Alexander Grant as "eight marches beyond the Oxus at an old fort, on the tongue of land formed by two joining rivers." *Num. Chron.*, New Series, Vol. XIX, 1879, p. 1.

[3] *Num. Chron.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

[4] *Num Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. VIII, 1888, pp. 293–299.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 295. Other important objections to Gardner's conjectural assignment are also made by Sir Henry.

[6] Incidentally, the need for a separate mint in Parthia, at this early date, is not at once obvious. That province was in direct communication, by a much frequented highroad, with Ecbatana whose mint at this very time, as we have seen, was unusually active and so could have furnished the Parthian district with all the necessary coin. Later, to be sure, a mint *may* have been opened at Hecatompylus by Antiochus I, see below, Chapter VII.

[6a] Cf. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 112.

presumably too far away from Babylonia and western Iran to be easily or economically supplied with money by the mints situated in those provinces. Hence, a royal Seleucid mint at the capital Bactra would be extremely probable—the more so as this city represents the nearest large commercial and political centre to the spot where the Oxus Treasure was unearthed. Finally, and this to us constitutes the determining factor, the particular group of Seleucid issues which we here propose to assign to Bactra leads directly into the immediately following issues of the Bactrian kings Diodotus and Euthydemus I.[7] Their coins could have been struck in Bactria only—never in Parthia or in the lands to the south of the Hindu Kush. The only logical location for a large and active royal mint would be at Bactra, the political, commercial and geographical centre of the entire province.

SELEUCUS I

312–280 B. C.

SERIES I, BEFORE CIRCA 285 B. C.

GROUP A

657. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Behind, ꟾ. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Helmeted Athena, with shield and spear, in quadriga drawn by four horned elephants to r. Above, anchor.

α) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.76. PLATE L, 1; β) London (India Office), ↓, gr. 16.26. PLATE L, 2.
α and β are from the same obverse but different reverse dies.

658. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Monogram (?) beneath neck. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (reading from the outside) on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Athena in quadriga of elephants to r. Above her shield, anchor. Beneath shield, ΓΛΓ (?). Circle of dots.

London, gr. 4.08. PLATE L, 3.

659. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Presence of a monogram uncertain.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (reading from the inside) on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Similar type but Athena is in a biga. Neither anchor nor monogram is visible.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 790, Pl. 26, gr. 3.79. PLATE L. 4.

660. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, except that the anchor is visible.

Berlin, gr. 2.00. PLATE L, 5.

[7] Here only the earliest issues of this king are being considered.

The earliest strictly Seleucid coins which can confidently be assigned to Bactra are the preceding tetradrachms of the usual elephant-quadriga type. Their attribution to the eastern portion of the Seleucid dominions has long been mooted:[8] because of the fact that the only known specimens have reached the British Museum from India; because they differ very greatly in style from any of the ordinary[9] specimens of this type; because they are struck from inverted dies,[10] and, finally, because they are unique in having a monogram on the obverse, directly behind the head of Zeus.[11] These trenchant reasons appear convincing to the writer and are therefore fully accepted here. That these coins could not have been struck in India follows from the fact that north-west India was not under Seleucid rule in the reign of Seleucus whose name they bear. But Bactria was, and hence the capital city, Bactra, appears to be the only possible mint.

The establishment of a royal mint in Bactria's capital may have been due to the reasoned policy of Antiochus after he was installed as his father's viceroy over the east in 293 B. C. The actual date, however, may be fixed a little closer than this. We call attention to the fact that the Zeus head on No. 657 PLATE L, 1–2, was copied directly from the tetradrachms of Seleucia pictured on PLATE IX, Nos. 3 and 5. Especially to be noted, is the identical manner in which the long locks of hair beneath the wreath and at the back of the god's neck are treated and arranged on both the Bactrian and the Babylonian coins. The latter belong to Series II, Group K (Nos. 69 and 71) which in the serried ranks of the Seleucian issues falls about 290–289 B. C.[12] This makes it probable that the earliest Bactrian issues which we happen to possess could hardly have appeared before 289 B. C. In passing, it may also be noted that these Bactrian coins, in the parallel arrangement of the elephants' legs, together with the downward curved trunks of the two nearest and the upward curved trunks of the two farthest elephants, follow the second scheme of arrangement[13] introduced on the issues of Seleucia in the course of Series II, Group F, or *circa* 295–4 B. C.

The fractional pieces Nos. 658–660 resemble the tetradrachms in style, and in this regard lead up to, and are closely connected with, the succeeding coinage of Group B. After the initial issue of drachms (No. 658), the elephant quadriga on the fractions is replaced by the biga. Unfortunately, the writer, prior to publication, had not the opportunity to secure data on the die-positions of the small pieces.

[8] Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, London, 1884, p. 58, assigns their monogram to Arachotus, the capital of Arachosia. Sir George Macdonald, *The Cambridge History of India*, pp. 433–4, assigns the coins to Central Asia.

[9] I. e., those assigned in this work to Seleucia on the Tigris and to Susa.

[10] The accustomed die-position on Bactrian coins until the later years of Euthydemus I. Cf. Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, pp. 387, 388, 434–6, 443.

[11] Following a practice previously adopted on the Bactro-Indian imitations of Athenian coins. Barclay V. Head, *The Earliest Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian Coins*, *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. VI, 1906, p. 6ff.

[12] See above, p. 29.

[13] See above, pp. 39–40.

GROUP B

661. TETRADRACHM.
Head of Zeus r., as on No. 657 but of lower relief and with the hair and wreath more schematically arranged.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two lines in the exergue. Fighting Athena in quadriga of horned elephants to r. Above, anchor and Ξ.

α) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.85. PLATE L, 6; β) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1421, Pl. 50, gr. 14.80; γ) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll. ex Cunningham Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 351), ↓, gr. 16.22.

662. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but only two elephants draw the chariot. No monogram visible.

α) Newell (R. B. Whitehead Coll.), ↓, gr. 3.18 (corroded); β) Paris (Babelon, No. 75, Pl. iii, 4), gr. 4.30. PLATE L, 7; γ) Jameson Coll., No. 1655, Pl. lxxxii, gr. 3.96.

663. HEMIDRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. No monogram visible.

α) Jameson Coll., No. 1658, Pl. lxxxii, gr. 2.06; β) Berlin, gr. 1.825. PLATE L, 8.

The coins of Group B are of a somewhat modified style as compared with No. 657, and constitute a stylistically transitional stage between the individual style of Series I, Group A and the very different but equally individual style of Series II. The monogram has now been transferred from the obverse to the more usual position on the reverse, just above the elephants. The inscription is now entirely in the exergue, just as it first appeared on the Susian issues about 288 B. C.[14] The attribution of these coins to Bactria is supported not only by their style and fabric, but also by the fact that they are struck from inverted dies and three of the specimens are known to have come from India.

SERIES II, *c.* 285–280 B. C.

664. DRACHM.
Laureate head of Zeus to r. Behind, 𐡀. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ in two lines below. Fighting Athena to r. in a *biga* of elephants. Above the elephants, ⏀.

α) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 3.54. PLATE L, 9; β–ε) Further specimens in the Oxus Treasure. Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, Vol. 50, pp. 177–8, Nos. 55–8, grs. 3.27, 3.11 (= Jameson Coll., No. 1663, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 3.12), 2.79, 3.24, Pl. xviii, 5–6; ζ) There is also a specimen in London of poor style and without the obverse monogram, ↓, gr. 3.30. PLATE L, 10.

[14] Cf. Groups G, H, Nos. 331, 333ff., pp. 119–120.

665. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but of less fine style and without the monogram.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ in two lines below. Athena in *quadriga* of elephants to r. Above the elephants, ⏀.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 816, Pl. 27 (= *Num. Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. iii, 5 = Late Collector, Sotheby Sale, May 1900, No. 420, Pl. viii), gr. 13.79; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 817, Pl. 27, gr. 12.62; γ) Newell (R. B. Whitehead Coll.), ↓, gr. 12.58; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 99, Pl. iii, 15), gr. 13.65; ε) London, Oxus Treasure. Cf. *Jour. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, loc. cit.* Pl. xviii, 2), ↓, gr. 13.78. PLATE L, 11; ζ) London Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 13.88. PLATE L, 12; ζ) Jameson Coll., No. 1661, Pl lxxxiii, gr. 13.36.

666. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, with the same inscription and monogram, but Athena in a *biga* of elephants.

α) Jameson Coll., No. 1662, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 3.43; β) London (from Peshawar), ↓, gr. 3.45. PLATE L, 13.

667. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 819, Pl. 27, gr. 1.66; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 820, Pl. 27, gr. 1.41; γ) London (from the Punjab), ↙, gr. 1.63. PLATE L, 14.

668. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the inscription ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, in two lines, is in the exergue.

Vienna (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 793, Pl. 27 = White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 483, Pl. v), gr. 1.70. PLATE L, 15.

669. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding but with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟИΤΩΝ (only) in the exergue.

London (Cunningham Coll. Cf. *Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal. loc. cit.*, p. 177, No. 52, Pl. xviii, 7), ↑, gr. 1.67. PLATE L, 16.

670. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding. Crude style.

Similar to the preceding but with ЯΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (only) in the exergue.

Berlin, gr. 0.465. PLATE L, 17.

671. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding and with the same monogram, but with no inscription.

London (Cunningham Coll., Oxus Treasure. Cf. *Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, loc. cit.*, p. 178, No. 60), ↙, gr. 0.52. PLATE L, 18. Another specimen, gr. 0.55, described *ibid*, p. 178, No. 59, Pl. xviii, 3–4.

672. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but beneath the neck, E.

Similar to No. 665. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ in two lines below elephant-*quadriga* r. Above elephants, ⏢.

α) Newell (ex Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2927, Pl. lxxxv), ↓, gr. 13.34. PLATE L, 19; β) London (from Peshawar), ↓, gr. 13.77. PLATE L, 20.

673. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath neck, ⊓ (?).

Similar to the preceding.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 818, Pl. 27, gr. 3.16.

674. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath neck, ⊓.

Similar to the preceding, but with lunate *sigmas* in the inscription. Monogram, ⏢.

London (from Peshawar), ↓, gr. 13.90. PLATE L, 21.

675. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath neck, letter ?

Similar to the preceding, with lunate *sigmas* in the inscription. Monogram, ⏢.

Newell (from Dr. Pozzi's Coll.), ↓, gr. 3.22. PLATE L, 22.

An attribution to Bactria (rather than to India) of the numerous coins of Series II seems to have been accepted by Babelon, who describes[15] them by the significant term *fabrique bactrienne*. Sir George Macdonald[16] appears to share this view. In point of fact, Nos. 664–675 form the stylistic continuation of the coins of Series I; they are almost invariably struck from inverted dies; the monogram on the obverse of No. 664 is identical with the monogram on the obverse of No. 657; although the individual specimens usually reach us from India,[17] they could not have been struck there as no portion of India proper was under the jurisdiction of Seleucus.

In two important respects, however, do the coins of Series II differ from their predecessors of Series I: their weight is no longer Attic, and the name ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ has been added to the previous ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. This new standard is usually designated as Indian[18] and probably because of that very fact, the Indian origin of our coins has been accepted without question by so many scholars. The coins of Series II are obviously based on a standard of which the drachm weighed about 3.75 grammes (58 grains)[19]—and this is the same standard apparently fol-

[15] *Rois de Syrie*, p. 15. Cf. also his *Introduction*, pp. xxxix–xli.

[16] *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 434–5 and 389.

[17] Head himself, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Ser., Vol. VI, 1906, p. 4, long ago pointed out that an Indian origin constitutes "no absolute proof that they were struck in India itself. Some, perhaps most of them, may have been coined outside India proper and north of the mountains (*Hindu-Kush*), either in Bactria or even further north in Sogdiana, etc."

[18] Head, *loc. cit.*, p. 9. Also, *Historia Numorum*,[2] pp. 833, 835. Cf. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 2.

[19] Macdonald, *The Cambridge History of India*, pp. 387, 434.

lowed by most of the early, primitive square silver coins (*kārṣāpaṇas*) of India. But this standard is not *necessarily* an indigenous Indian one. In fact, the most recent standard work on the subject, John Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, states:[20] "It would appear that the earliest coins[21] were struck in Achaemenid territory in the N. W., and that the Mauryas adopted the idea of a coinage,[22] like many other things, from Persia, and developed a coinage on Indian lines using a standard which was either a native Indian standard, slightly lighter than the Persian, or the latter slightly reduced." However this may be, we can confidently state that the Seleucid coins now under consideration were issued on a standard which was also used in India during the fourth to the second centuries B. C.[23] The reason for the sudden change in weight standard at Bactra may be sought for both in the active trade across the Hindu-Kush with the Indian districts, and also, possibly, in a popular demand at home for coins on a standard previously used in Bactria itself. This latter is suggested by the coins of Athenian or of modified Athenian types[24] previously struck here on the same standard, although it must be admitted that we do not yet certainly know the true mint of these pieces, whether Bactria or N. W. India. Of similar pieces, Macdonald gives[25] what in the writer's opinion represents the most likely decision at present possible: "But, if the coins in question are Eastern, it does not follow that they are Indian. On the contrary, the evidence of provenance, slight though it be, is all in favour of Central Asia. And so, too, is that of the peculiar weight standard. When this standard next emerges in that quarter of the world, it is among coins struck by Antiochus I during his vice-royalty or, in other words, after Seleucus Nicator had formally renounced his pretensions to the Punjab as part of his bargain with Chandragupta. The inference is that the district whose needs tetradrachms of the sort were meant to meet, lay beyond the confines of India."

With regard to the curious inscription borne by the coins of Series II, it was Gardner who first[26] drew attention to it and pointed out its implication, namely that the coins were struck by Antiochus as viceroy in the name of Seleucus I. On the other hand, the inscription could almost equally well be interpreted as telling us that the coins were struck by "King Seleucus son of Antiochus." To the epigraphist this latter reading is perhaps the most natural—if we assume that, because of lack of room on a small coin-flan, the customary τοῦ before the second name had been omitted. That Gardner was correct in his interpretation[27] was proved so soon as the specimens listed under No. 664 were published.[28] As the inscription here

[20] Introduction, p. clxiii, §203.
[21] *Loc. cit.* Part I, Class 1, pp. 1–3. These are definitely stated as being of Persian standard.
[22] *Loc. cit.* Part II, Classes 1 and 2.
[23] *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. lxx–lxxi.
[24] For a list of these, see Head's *Historia Numorum*,[2] p. 834. Cf., also, Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, p. 387.
[25] *Loc. cit.*, p. 389.
[26] *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, Vol. XIX, 1879, p. 10 and Vol. XX, 1880, pp. 189–90.
[27] Now accepted by almost all numismatists. Cf. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Introduction, p. xl; Jameson, *Revue Numismatique*, 4th Series, Vol. IX, 1905, p. 2; *Historia Numorum*,[2] p. 835.
[28] Cunningham, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, Vol. 50, p. 177, nos. 55–8.

reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, it is at once clear that the issue must be in the joint names of Seleucus and Antiochus, and that the second name cannot be a mere patronymic. Furthermore, a close inspection of No. 664 shows that these coins must constitute the *first* issue of the new series. In the style and execution of their dies, they are the finest of all the series and were obviously used as models for the remaining issues. They are the only ones which bear a monogram on the obverse; and as this monogram is $\mathcal{R}$, the coins are closely united with their predecessor No. 657 displaying the identical monogram in the same position. It is but natural that the most complete form of a long inscription should appear on the first issue and that such an inscription should then, for convenience, be somewhat curtailed on succeeding issues. We thus see that according to their inscription the coins should be assigned to the period of Antiochus' viceroyalty in the east. We cannot, however, follow previous writers[29] in assigning No. 664 to the year 293 B. C., or in placing any part of Series II as early as this by at least eight years. For we have learned above that Series I could not have commenced before 290–289 B. C., at the very earliest, which is the approximate date of the Seleucian coin it used as a model. If then we assign the coins of Series II to *circa* 285–280 B. C., we shall probably be not far wrong.

Throughout the period that Antiochus acted as his father's viceroy in the east, coins bearing the sole name of Seleucus were being struck in the eastern mints of Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa and Ecbatana. The same is true of Bactra for Series I. Why then in Series II of the latter mint was it suddenly found necessary or desirable to take the unusual step of adding Antiochus' name to that of his father? Was the mint of Bactra more especially under the jurisdiction of Antiochus at this time, or had he decided to act independently in the most distant part of his father's realm? It seems to the writer that we need make no such drastic assumption and that the explanation of the curious inscription is quite simple, natural and without any special political implication peculiar to Bactria.

We start with the premise that the coins of Series II are of identical general type with those of Series I and with the similar coins of Seleucia and Susa. Barring their inscriptions and the very important difference in weight, the two categories are practically indistinguishable by any outward sign. The delicate criteria of style and fabric alone would hardly be immediately appreciated by the native populations of the wide Bactrian countryside and especially of more distant Afghanistan and India. Quick distinction (that is, without the use of scales in each case) of weight, even in the tetradrachms, is a matter of practice, especially when specimens of each kind do not happen to be available at the same instant. Distinction without the use of scales is practically impossible when it comes to drachms, hemidrachms and obols. But as it would be highly desirable to make distinction possible at sight between the coins of Attic and of "Indian" weight, and at the same time not to change the general types of a royal Seleucid coinage already well known to the native populations, recourse was had to a slight alteration in the inscriptions

[29] Cf., for instance, Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, p. 178, who there dates them in 294 or 293 B. C.

of the new coins. This change was not of so drastic a nature as to arouse suspicion in the native mind, and yet was quite sufficient to make possible a ready distinction between the two kinds of coin involved.

The assignment of our coins to Seleucus, son of Antiochus I, who acted as viceroy from *circa* 280 to 266 B. C., when he was executed for high treason, first proposed by Six[30] and followed by Imhoof-Blumer,[31] is to be emphatically rejected. Aside from the inherent improbabilities of such an attribution, both the types chosen and the obvious sequence of style and monograms refute any such proposal.

ANTIOCHUS I

280–261 B. C.

SERIES I, *c.* 280–268 B. C.

GROUP A

676. STATER.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Diadem-ends hang down.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ANTIOXOY in the exergue. Horned and bridled horse's head to r. The forelock rises horn-like above the forehead. In upper r. field, ⏢.

London (from the Punjab), ↘. PLATE LI, 1.

677. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, except that the forelock is composed of several flame-like locks. In lower r. field, ⏢.

α) Jameson Coll., No. 1664, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 16.63; β) London (from the Punjab. Gardner, p. 108, No. 21 a, Pl. xxviii, 1 c), ↓, gr. 16.56. PLATE LI, 2; γ) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.85. PLATE LI, 3; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 100, Pl. iii, 16 = *Num. Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. iii, 1), gr. 16.90.
α and β are from the same reverse, α, β, and δ from the same obverse dies.

678. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the forelock is again horn-like. No monogram.

London (Cunningham Coll., *Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, loc. cit.*, pl. xviii, 11), ↓, gr. 4.14. PLATE LI, 4.

679. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper r. field, ⏢.

α) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.15. PLATE LI, 6; β) Berlin, ↓, gr. 4.14; γ) Newell, ↓, gr. 3.92. PLATE LI, 5.
α is from the same dies as No. 678, but with the monogram added later. β and γ are from another pair of dies.

[30] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd. Series, Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 226–7.
[31] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, pp. 183–4.

680. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, but with the monogram ⊛ in the lower r. field.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 824, Pl. 28 (= White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 500, Pl. v), gr. 4.11; β) Jameson Coll., No. 1665, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 4.01.

681. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding.

α) London (from the Punjab), ↓, gr. 1.91. PLATE LI, 7; β) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll. *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 359), ↓, gr. 1.71.

682. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, but with the monogram ℬ beneath the horse's neck. Waving locks of hair on the forehead.

London (from the Punjab), ↘, gr. 1.83. PLATE LI, 8.

GROUP B

683. STATER.

Head of Antiochus I to r., diademed and with curly hair. The diadem-ends are curled at the end, and do not hang down. | Similar to PLATE LI, 1. The forelock is again horn-like in form. In lower r. field, ΔI.

α) London (Cunningham Coll. *Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, loc. cit.*, Pl. xviii, 8), ↓, gr. 8.49. PLATE LI, 9; β) Berlin, gr. 8.51. PLATE LI, 10.
α and β are from same reverse die.

684. STATER.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In lower r. field, ⊛.

London (Grant Coll., from India), ↓, gr. 8.49. PLATE LI, 11.

685. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram.

α) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2441, Pl. lxi, gr. 4.16; β) London (from the Punjab), ↓, gr. 4.11. PLATE LI, 12.

686. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, except that the forelock rises in flame-like locks. In upper r. field, ⊛.

London (Cunningham Coll. *Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, loc. cit.*, Pl. xviii, 9), ↑, gr. 16.83. PLATE LI, 13.

687. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, except that the forelock is horn-like in form and the monogram is ⊛.

α) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.75; β) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2940, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 13.96 (*fourrée*); γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 879, Pl. 30 (= Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2939, Pl. lxxxv = White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 499, Pl. v), gr. 16.59; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. = *Num. Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. iii, 2), ↓, gr. 16.55. PLATE LI, 14.

688. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In upper r. field, ⏢.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 826, Pl. 28 (= Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2866, Pl. xxxii), gr. 4.20; β) London from the Punjab), gr. 3.85. PLATE LI, 15; γ) London (Cunningham Coll. The monogram has been re-engraved, perhaps in modern times), ↓, gr. 4.04. PLATE LI, 16; δ) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll. *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 358), ↙, gr. 3.98.

689. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Antiochus similar to the preceding. At times one diadem-end hangs straight, while the other rises upward at a sharp angle; at other times, one diadem-end is curled. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding. The forelock always has the horn-like form. In lower r. field, ⏢.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 823, Pl. 28, gr. 16.83; β) Hirsch Sale XXXI, May 1912, No. 500, Pl. xiv, gr. 15.93; γ) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 415, Pl. 13, gr. 16.6; δ) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.92; ε) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. = *Num. Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. iii, 3), ↓, gr. 16.57. PLATE LI, 17; ϛ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.65. PLATE LI, 18; ζ) Jameson Coll., No. 1674, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 16.72.
α and β are from the same obverse die, while δ, ε and ϛ are from another obverse die, γ and ζ from yet another.

690. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, of earlier and of later style. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding. In lower r. field, ⏢.

α) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.21. PLATE LI, 19; β) London (from the Punjab), ↓, gr. 4.12. PLATE LI, 20; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1437, Pl. 50, gr. 4.2; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 825, Pl. 28, gr. 3.36; ε) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 827 (barbaric copy ?), Pl. 28, gr. 3.89; ϛ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 880, Pl. 30, gr. 4.02; ζ) Newell, ↓, gr. 3.88; η) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.22. PLATE LI, 21; θ) London (India Office), ↓, gr. 4.11; ι) Berlin, ↓, gr. 3.60.

691. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In lower r. field, ⏢.

α) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 2.07. PLATE LI, 22; β) Berlin, ↓, gr. 2.00.

GROUP C

692. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 689 α and β.

Similar to the preceding. In lower r. field, ⏢. In the exergue, B.

London (from the Punjab), ↓, gr. 16.65. PLATE LII, 1.

693. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In lower r. field, ⏢. In the exergue, B.

Newell (Lambros Coll., Hirsch Sale XXIX, Nov. 1910, No. 819), ↘, gr. 4.03. PLATE LII, 2.

694. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In lower r. field, ⏢. Beneath horse's neck, ABIΔ.

α) London (from the Punjab. Cf. *Num. Chronicle*, New Series, Vol. XX, 1880, p. 190, No. 3), ↓, gr. 16.60. PLATE LII, 3; β) *Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 50, 1881, p. 179, No. 73, Pl. xviii, 10, gr. 16.46; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1436, Pl. 50, gr. 16.2.
α is from the same obverse die as the following No. 696.
γ is from the same obverse die (now somewhat damaged) as No. 689 γ.

GROUP A

Together with the change in types, coincident with the accession of Antiochus I to his father's throne in 280 B. C., the Bactrian issues revert once more to the Attic weight-standard, now in general use throughout the rest of the kingdom. Perhaps the outward unity of the empire, a unity which from the very outset Antiochus was forced to struggle hard to maintain, meant more to him than the local currency predilections of a distant province or the convenience of merchants trading with a yet more distant India. For whatever cause, the "Indian" weights of the final issues of Seleucus I are now abandoned in favor of the more universal Attic. Completely new types, too, are chosen. On the obverse (PLATE LI, 1–8) we find a portrait of Antiochus, easily recognized as such, even though in style and execution it differs considerably from the more orthodox portraits of other contemporaneous coinages. The reverse displays the spirited head and neck of a bridled horse, adorned with the customary spreading horns. On the staters, drachms and one of the hemidrachms, the horse's forelock takes the shape of a goat's horn rising straight up from the forehead and curving back, somewhat like an ibex-horn. It is strikingly like the object which one finds in the same place on the horses of the *Persian* (but, significantly enough, never on those of the Greek) riders as depicted on the famous "Alexander Sarcophagus" of Sidon.[32] It is therefore probably a manner of arranging the forelocks of their horses peculiar to the Persians or the Bactrians at this particular period. On the tetradrachms (No. 677, PLATE LI, 2–3) and on the hemidrachm No. 682, this horn-like lock (if lock it is), is not present, its place being taken by several flame-like locks of hair, which also rise straight up from the horse's forehead.

The accompanying monogram is usually ⏢, exactly as on the final issue (Series II, Nos. 674–675) of Seleucus I. In conformity with this, the style of our coins still has much of the hard, dry, oriental formality so noticeable on the immediately

[32] O. Hamdy Bey and T. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, Paris, 1892. See especially the central horse on Pl. XXIX, and the central horse on Pl. XXXVII, 2. In each case there appears to be depicted a sort of sheath which covers and holds (in a curved horn-like form) the horse's forelock.

preceding Bactrian issues. It is to be noted that the ends of the king's diadem hang in two long, parallel, waving lines.

This type of a bridled horse's head is peculiarly appropriate to Bactria, a land which has ever been famous[33] for its splendid horses and excellent cavalry—thirty thousand were in the army of Darius III, while another thousand formed the king's body-guard. The city of Bactra itself was known as Zariaspa,[34] its river as Zariaspis, from the Zariaspai (i. e., "owners of golden-yellow horses") who inhabited the land.

The other gold staters, silver tetradrachms and drachms which bear a horned portrait of Seleucus on the obverse and the horned horse's head on the reverse,[35] usually looked upon as eastern issues, are not included here, as they were actually struck in northern Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.

GROUP B

With this group the style changes (cf. PLATE LI, 9–22), becoming much less formal, more natural and plastic. The king's hair is curlier, his features fuller and younger.[36] The diadem-ends are no longer in long, parallel lines, but are short and waving. Towards the end of the group a new arrangement for them begins to appear (cf. PLATE LI, 18), namely: ¶—which later becomes more marked: ¶ and so persists until well into the succeeding reigns of the independent Bactrian kings, Diodotus to, and including, Demetrius I.

The gold staters, which are now more numerous, and the smaller silver denominations continue to display the central "horn" above the horse's forehead. The tetradrachms at first (No. 686, PLATE LI, 13) have the waving locks of hair, but finally with No. 687, PLATE LI, 14) adopt the "horn" of the accompanying gold and silver fractions. The monograms are variously rendered ΔI, ⏀, ⏀ or ⏀.

GROUP C

The style of this group differs little from that of the preceding one (cf. PLATE LII, 1–3), but the coins themselves are characterized by the letter B, or the abbreviated name ABIΔ, in addition to the accustomed monogram ⏀. No corresponding gold staters have as yet appeared. With regard to the name ABIΔ. . . . . , Six[37] completes it as Ἀβίδβηλος (the Greek form of the Syrian name עבדבעל) and allows himself some interesting, though rather fruitless, conjectures with regard to it,

[33] *The Cambridge History of India*, pp. 435–6; Pauly-Wissowa, II, pp. 2804–14.

[34] Strabo, XI, 11.9; Pliny, VI, 18.

[35] Cf. British Museum Catalogue, *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Pl. i, 6; *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Vol. III, Pl. lxiii, 20.

[36] The features continue, none the less, to retain the main characteristics of the portrait of Antiochus I. It cannot be the son, Antiochus II, as Six, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVIII, 1898, p. 231, and Imhoof-Blumer, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 182, Nos. 43–5, claim. The true portrait of the second Antiochus we shall meet later.

[37] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 231–3.

following Gardner's suggestion[38] that it may represent some otherwise unknown satrap or semi-independent ruler of the Bactrian district. Whether ABIΔ . . . . . may be some simple monetary magistrate or some higher dignitary, he certainly cannot be a satrap of Babylonia as supposed by Six. The coins clearly support Gardner in assigning them to Bactria.

SERIES II, *c.* 268–261 B. C.

GROUP A

695. STATER.

Diademed, head of Antiochus I to r. One diadem-end hangs straight, the other curves upward.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, naked except for drapery over r. thigh, seated to l. upon *omphalos;* holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. upon bow. In l. inner field, ⏀ (sometimes, O).

α) Jameson Coll., No. 1666, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 8.39; β) London, from the Punjab. Gardner, p. 108, No. 1, Pl. xxviii, 1a), ↓, gr. 8.55. PLATE LII, 4; γ) Berlin; δ) Jameson Coll., No. 1671, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 8.42; ε) Locker Lampson Coll., No. 343, Pl. xxvi, gr. 8.53.

696. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but Apollo holds two arrows. In inner l. field, ⏀.

α) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.02. PLATE LII, 5; β–γ) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 50, 1881, p. 179, No. 80, Pl. xviii, 14 and 15, gr. 16.39 and 16.33. This latter piece is now in Cambridge, McClean Coll., Vol. III, p. 327, No. 9254, Pl. 336, 2, gr. 16.24 (sic!), ↓; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓.

α is struck from the same obverse die as No. 694α.

697. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but Apollo again holds only one arrow. In inner l. field, ⏀. In outer r. field, Ⱥ (placed sidewise).

Newell, ↓, gr. 16.30. PLATE LII, 6.

698. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In inner l. field, ⏀ or ⏀.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 874, Pl. 30, gr. 3.35; β) London (from India), ↓, gr. 4.00. PLATE LII, 7; γ) Newell, ↓, gr. 3.96. PLATE LII, 8.

699. STATER.

Elderly head of Antiochus I to r.

Similar to the preceding. In upper, inner l. field, AΡ. In lower, inner field, ⏀.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 842, Pl. 28 (= Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2928, Pl. lxxxv = Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2785, Pl. lxxvi), gr. 8.39. PLATE LII, 9.

[38] *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, Vol. XX, 1880, p. 190.

700. STATER.

Slightly younger head of Antiochus to r. — Similar to the preceding. In lower inner l. field, ⏀ above AΡ.

London, ↓, gr. 8.39. PLATE LII, 10.

701. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. In inner l. field, ⏀. In the exergue, AΡ.

London (from the Punjab), ↓, gr. 4.10. PLATE LII, 11.

702. STATER.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. No monogram.

London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.52. PLATE LII, 12.

GROUP B

703. STATER.

Elderly head of Antiochus to r. — Similar to the preceding. In upper inner field, above the arrow, Δ.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 112, Pl. iv, 8), gr. 8.45; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 8.48, PLATE LII, 13.

704. STATER.

Similar to the preceding, although at times, the features are much younger in appearance. — Similar to the preceding, but the Δ is in the middle inner l. field, below the arrow.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 841, Pl. 28 (= Cons. Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4035, Pl. lii), gr. 8.53; β) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 641, Pl. xvii, gr. 8.44; γ) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 13, No. 9, Pl. lxiii, 23, gr. 8.47; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 110, Pl. iv. 7), gr. 8.55; ε) Paris (Babelon No. 111 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3272, Pl. cxviii), gr. 8.45; ζ) Boston (Museum of Fine Arts = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 692, Pl. ix), gr. 8.16. PLATE LII, 14; ζ) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.45. PLATE LII, 15; η) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.47. PLATE LII, 16.

705. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. — Similar to the preceding. In inner l. field, ⏀.

White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 496, Pl. v.

GROUP A

Series II, Group A, now conforms to the coinages of the remainder of the empire by finally adopting the seated Apollo-type in place of the horned horse's-head reverse. Not only does the monogram ⏀ continue to appear on the coins, but an obverse die is actually carried over from No. 694 to No. 696, thus proving beyond a doubt that we still have before us the issues of one and the same mint. We also have in all probability the same subordinate magistrate as before, who now (No. 697) uses the monogram Α instead of the fuller ΑΒΙΔ of No. 694. Later, yet another assistant, AΡ, signs the coins Nos. 699–701.

Noticeable on our coins is the great divergence in age shown (compare PLATE LII, 7, 10, 12 with 4–6, 9, 11) in the features of Antiochus I. So much so is this the case, that previous writers have frequently been at a loss whether to assign some of our coins to Antiochus I or to his son, Antiochus II. Six and Imhoof-Blumer have definitely attributed the more youthful-appearing ones to the second Antiochus. In no case, however, is there the slightest resemblance in any of these portraits, young though they may seem, to the known features of Antiochus II as established by such later coins as PLATE LII, 17 and 21 and PLATE LIII, 1–4. Even the youngest of them still bears a certain amount of resemblance to Antiochus I, and to him alone. All that can be said is that there seems to have been a tendency, manifested among some of the die-cutters, to idealize his features.

GROUP B

The remarks just made concerning the different portraits apply in an even greater degree to the issues of Group B. Here we find an obviously aged (PLATE LII, 13 and 16) as well as an almost youthful (PLATE LII, 14–15) Antiochus I, but the magistratal letter Δ and the identical style of the various reverse dies prove the coins to have been issued simultaneously.

It is noticeable that since the time of Series I, Group B, we no longer possess examples of the silver hemidrachm. It is therefore quite likely that bronze coins were now issued to meet the demand for small change; but, if so, it has as yet proved impossible to localize any one type to the Bactrian district for the period of Antiochus I's reign. We shall have to await returning travellers or collectors from those regions, and especially the opening up there of serious and scientifically recorded excavations. If these have been undertaken by Russian scholars in recent years, the writer is unaware of any publications giving us detailed lists of Seleucid coins discovered.

ANTIOCHUS II

RULING IN BACTRIA

SERIES I, *c.* 261–256 B. C.

GROUP A

706. STATER.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* as before. He holds an arrow in his outstretched r. and rests l. upon bow. In inner l. field, Δ.

London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.51. PLATE LII, 17.

GROUP B

a

707. STATER.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r., with strongly marked features and deep wrinkles.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on the l. Apollo, as above, seated to l. on *omphalos*. In inner l. field, STAR above and ⏃ below his r. arm. LYRE in front of his legs.

α) New York (Metropolitan Museum, Ward Coll., No. 775, Pl. xix = Late Collector, Sotheby Sale, May 1900, No. 421, Pl. viii), gr. 8.36; β) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.39. PLATE LII, 18; γ) London (from the Punjab), ↓, gr. 8.38.

708. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, with STAR and ⏃, but without the lyre.

α) Newell (= Merzbacher Sale, Nov. 1910, No. 822, Pl. 14 = White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 497, Pl. v), ↓, gr. 4.21. PLATE LII, 19; β) London (from the Punjab), ↓, gr. 4.15. PLATE LII, 20.

b

709. STATER.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r.

Same types and inscription as No. 707. In inner l. field, STAR above and ⏃ below Apollo's r. arm. LYRE in front of his legs.

α) Maxime Collignon Coll., Feuardent Sale, Dec. 1919, No. 385, Pl. xix; β) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2951, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 8.44; γ) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1675, Pl. 57 (= Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1897, No. 336, Pl. iii), gr. 8.41; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 949, Pl. 34, gr. 8.27; ε) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 950, Pl. 34 (= Maxime Collignon Coll., Feuardent Sale, Dec. 1919, No. 386, Pl. xix), gr. 8.41; ζ) Naville Sale XIV, July 1929, No. 409, Pl. 15, gr. 7.52 (sic!); ζ) Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 662, Pl. xix (= Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 701, Pl. ix), gr. 8.32; η) Late Collector, Sotheby Sale, May 1900, No. 425, Pl. ix, gr. 8.29; θ) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (Warren Coll., No. 1296, Pl. xxx), gr. 8.43; ι) Otto Coll., Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 648, Pl. 15, gr. 7.86; κ) Hamburger Sale 96, Oct. 1932, No. 168, Pl. 6, gr. 8.35; λ) Paris (Babelon, No. 355, Pl. ix, 6), gr. 8.62; μ) Cambridge (McClean Coll., No. 9263, Pl. 336, 10 (= Balmanno Coll., Sotheby Sale, July 1898, No. 296), ↓, gr. 8.52; ν) London (Gardner, p. 110, No. 1, Pl. xxviii, 1b), ↓, gr. 8.40; ξ) Berlin; ο) Commerce, ↓, gr. 8.57. PLATE LIII, 1; π) Newell (Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, Part II, No. 7847, Pl. 286 = Hamburger Sale, Oct. 1890, No. 849), ↓, gr. 8.48. PLATE LII, 21; ρ) Jameson Coll., No. 1684, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 8.41.

710. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but without the lyre.

London, ↓, gr. 3.44. PLATE LIII, 2.

711. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but without monogram or symbol.

London (From Baluchistan. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. IV, 1904, 318, Pl. xvii, 10, ↖, gr. 2.04. PLATE LIII, 3.

GROUP A

The portrait before us on No. 706, PLATE LII, 17, is unmistakably that of Antiochus II Theos, according to the criteria so definitely established by Sir George Macdonald many years ago.[39] The coin is marked by the magistrate's initial Δ, as are the immediately preceding issues of Antiochus I, Series II, Group B.

GROUP B

The present group of issues comprises two categories: "a", consisting of coins (Nos. 707–708, PLATE LII, 18–20) which bear the posthumous portrait of Antiochus I, and "b", comprising the coins (Nos. 709–711, PLATE LII, 21 and PLATE LIII, 1–3) which bear the portrait of the now reigning king, Antiochus II. Gold staters and silver drachms and hemidrachms are at present known. Both gold and silver coins bear the symbol STAR and the monogram ⍋, the latter having already appeared, although there encased in a circle, on the tetradrachm No. 705 of the preceding reign. The gold staters alone bear a second symbol, the LYRE. Like the preceding Bactrian issues of Seleucus I and Antiochus I, our coins are all struck from inverted dies.

This continuance of the portrait head of the deceased Antiochus I on the issues of his son is interesting, in view of the same phenomenon already observed at the mint of Seleucia on the Tigris. It may have been actuated by a laudable desire to honor and perpetuate the memory of the former monarch; or it may be the result of that oriental reluctance—so often noted—to discard a type which had gained popularity at home and abroad. The portrait of the old Antiochus I is an excellent characterization, in particular on the specimens illustrated, PLATE LII, 18–20. On the other hand, the portrait of Antiochus II now (PLATE LII, 21 and LIII, 1) exhibits a harder, more formal style as compared with the finely modelled portrait on No. 706, PLATE LII, 17. We can judge by the number of specimens which have survived, that the issue lasted for perhaps some five years, say, until about 256 B. C.

However abrupt the political transition may [or may not] have been between Seleucid rule in Bactria and that of the rebellious Diodotus I, the numismatic transition is gentle enough. First, we have the following rare coin:

SERIES II, *c.* 256–5 B. C.

712. STATER.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r., from the same die as many specimens of No. 709 (i. e., PLATE LIII, 1).

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Zeus striding l., aegis on his extended l. arm, his raised r. wielding a thunderbolt. At his feet, eagle to l. In inner l. field, N.

London (Rogers Coll. Cf. Hill, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Series, Vol. V, 1925, p. 20, Pl. ii, 62), ↓, gr. 8.30. PLATE LIII, 4.

[39] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, p. 108ff.

The importance of this coin has been stressed by Sir George Hill in his discussion of it, as well as by Sir George Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 437, note 1. The portrait before us is still that of the rightful master, Antiochus II. In fact, the coin has actually been struck from one of the obverse dies previously employed to produce No. 709. The king's name on the reverse is still that of Antiochus, but the accompanying type is definitely non-Seleucid. It has long ago been pointed out that in this design we may recognize the canting badge of the rebel Diodotus. The accompanying magistrate's letter is now N, thus making a break in the old tradition of Bactra according to which—since the later years of Seleucus I—the monogram contained as its principal element the letter *delta*, i. e.,  ,  ,  ,  ,  ,  ,  ,  . The identity of the obverse die and of the general style and fabric with preceding issues, however, assures us that we are still dealing with the products of a single mint.

The next stage is represented by the following pieces:

SERIES III, *c.* 255–246 B. C., or later

713. STATER.
Diademed head of Diodotus to r. Circle of dots.

From the same reverse die as the preceding No. 712.

α) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.29. PLATE LIII, 5; β) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1430, Pl. 50, gr. 8.20.

714. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In inner l. field, N.

α) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 18, Pl. v, 7), ↓, gr. 16.65. PLATE LIII, 6; β) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.41. PLATE LIII, 7.

715. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In inner l. field, N.

α) London (R. B. Whitehead Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.04. PLATE LIII, 8; β) London (from India), ↓, gr. 4.08.

716. BRONZE DOUBLE.
Draped bust of Hermes to r. wearing *petasus*. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on the l. Crossed *caducei*.

London. PLATE LIII, 9.

716A. BRONZE UNIT.
Similar to the preceding.

Same types and inscription as on the preceding.

Newell (from Beyrouth), ↓, gr. 2.93. This specimen unfortunately arrived too late for inclusion on the plates.

In addition to these, there exist the following numerous varieties of the stater, tetradrachm and drachm bearing various monograms or the symbol WREATH, most of them represented by specimens in the British Museum. Here, we still find the name of the suzerain Antiochus II, but the portrait as well as the reverse type are definitely those of Diodotus.

717. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Diodotus to r., similar to the preceding. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Zeus striding to l., as on the preceding. At his feet, eagle to l. In inner l. field,  .

α) Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2945, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 15.84; β) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 417, Pl. 13, gr. 14.81; γ) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1950, Pl. 56 (= Zschiesche & Köder Sale V, April 1913, No. 688, Pl. ix), gr. 16.15; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 903, Pl. 31, gr. 16.43; ε) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 904, Pl. 31, gr. 15.81; ζ) Jameson Coll., No. 1672, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 16.48; ξ) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 19), ↓, gr. 16.33; η) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.63. PLATE LIII, 10.

718. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monogram in the field. Between the feet of Zeus,  .

α) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 20), ↓, gr. 16.52; β) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, Part II, p. 725, No. 7852, Pl. 286 = Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 457), ↓, gr. 16.69. PLATE LIII, 11.

719. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In inner l. field, .

Paris (Babelon, No. 218, Pl. vi, 13), gr. 15.80.

720. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but the features appear younger.

Similar to the preceding, but with no monogram.

α) London (R. B. Whitehead Coll.), ↓, gr. 15.60; β) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 21), ↓, gr. 16.65. PLATE LIII, 12.

721. DRACHM.

Similar, but the features are without much individuality.

Similar to the preceding. In inner r. field,  , In outer r. field,  (?).

London (Cunningham Coll.), ↖, gr. 3.89. PLATE LIII, 13.

722. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with only the monogram,  .

London (from Baluchistan. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. IV, 1904, p. 318, Pl. xvii, 9), ↓, gr. 2.03. PLATE LIII, 14.

Because of their abnormal style and variable die-position, Nos. 721–2 may have been struck in another mint.

723. STATER.

Similar to No. 720. | Similar to No. 720. In inner l. field, WREATH.

α) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2788, Pl. lxxvi (Grant Coll. Cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, Vol. I, 1881, p. 11, Pl. 2 and Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Introd., p. lix, fig. 15), gr. 8.31; β) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 8.37. PLATE LIII, 15.

724. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol.

α) London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.21. PLATE LIII, 16; β) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.04.

725. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding, and with the same symbol.

London (Cunningham Coll.), ↓, gr. 3.89. PLATE LIII, 17.

726. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In inner l. field, WREATH. In inner r. field, Γ above ⋈ above ⩚.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 905, Pl. 31 (= White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 516, Pl. vi), gr. 4.10.

The final stage is represented by the stater, tetradrachm and bronze double, PLATE LIII, 18–20, on which portrait, types, and now finally the name as well, are those of Diodotus—and thus even outward indications of a shadowy claim to Seleucid suzerainty over Bactria have vanished from the coins.

The very close connections now established between the earliest issues of Diodotus and the true coins of Antiochus II (first by an identical obverse die connecting No. 712 and No. 709; then by an identical reverse die connecting No. 712 and No. 713), prove that we have before us the portrait of the *first* Diodotus, founder of the Bactrian kingdom. Justin XLI, 4, 9 speaks of a second Diodotus who succeeded his father; and because the portrait on our coins tends to grow ever younger, many scholars[40] have assumed that they were coined by Diodotus II and bear his portrait. But this appearance of youthfulness is illusory. Certainly the man who appears on the first of these coins, PLATE LIII, 5–6, is not a youth. Because we possess but one small (No. 706) and one larger (Nos. 709–711) issue bearing the portrait, type and name of Antiochus II, and because these are followed *immediately* (as proved by style and die combinations) by the earliest coins of the revolt, the latter can only have been coined by the person who, as Justin says, began the revolt—namely, Diodotus, the father. The portrait must then be his. His son, as so often happens in royal coinages of the Hellenistic period, continued to

[40] Among others, V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, pp. 3, 7; Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 440; Tarn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 72–3.

coin with his father's portrait, which exhibited a constant tendency to grow younger and more idealized as time went on.

The date for Diodotus' open revolt has been placed by various scholars between *circa* 256 and 248 B. C., the majority arguing for about the year 250. Basing our opinion solely on the coins themselves, we would suggest that those of Antiochus II (Nos. 706–711) cover the years *circa* 261–256 B. C.; that the first numismatic evidence (No. 712) of the gradual breaking away of Bactria from the empire is to be placed at about 256–5 B. C.; and that the remainder (Nos. 713–726), with the types of Diodotus but the name of Antiochus, fall about 255–246 B. C., or later. The coins bearing the name as well as the types of Diodotus (PLATE LIII, 18–20) probably did not appear until after the death of Antiochus II, late in 247 B. C. For that event resulted in the practical, although temporary, collapse of the Seleucid empire and the victorious advance of Ptolemy III of Egypt to the very borders of Iran. At such a time, it is not surprising that Diodotus should have taken the final step and have substituted his own name for that of Antiochus on coins which already bore his own types in a province of which he was the virtual king. On the other hand, the change in name may have come at the death[41] of the elder Diodotus[42] when his son definitely altered his father's policy of friendliness to the Seleucid dynasty and allied himself with the Parthian king Tiridates against Seleucus II. Absolute certainty in the matter, however, is hardly yet attainable.

[41] Just when this event occurred, is unknown.

[42] As Macdonald believes, *loc. cit.*, p. 437.

CHAPTER VII

HECATOMPYLUS or ARTACOANA

ANTIOCHUS I

280–261 B. C.

727. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, nude but for drapery over r. thigh, seated to l. on *omphalos*, holds arrow in outstretched r. and rests l. on bow. In outer r. field, . In the exergue, .

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↗, gr. 17.05. PLATE LIV, 1.

728. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field,  above B A (placed sideways).

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ←, gr. 16.42. PLATE LIV, 2.

729. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but from another die.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, A. In outer l. field, . In the exergue, . Circle of dots around.

Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 14, No. 14), gr. 17.28. PLATE LIV, 3.

ANTIOCHUS II

261–246 B. C.

730. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die (but now very much worn) as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but of cruder style. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field, . In the exergue, . Circle of dots.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 870, Pl. 30, gr. 17.43. PLATE LIV, 4; *β*) Berlin, →, gr. 17.25. PLATE LIV, 5.

731. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but from another and rather crude die.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field,  . In outer l. field,  above . In the exergue, . Circle of dots.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↗, gr. 16.71. PLATE LIV, 6.

732. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Die very worn. Circle of dots around.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, ?. In outer l. field,  . In the exergue,  .

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, Nos. 875 and 876, Pl. 30, gr. 4.17 and 4.22 (= Rogers Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 246, No. 11, Pl. ix, 13); β) Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2874, Pl. xxiv, gr. 4.20; γ) Newell (ex Clark Coll., Urumia), ↓, gr. 3.99. PLATE LIV, 8; δ) Newell (ex Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.), ↖, gr. 4.17. PLATE LIV, 7; ε) Paris (Babelon, No. 201), gr. 4.25.

SELEUCUS II

246–226 B. C.

733. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Straight diadem-ends. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., holds arrow in outstretched r. and rests l. elbow on tall tripod behind him. In outer r. field, uncertain monogram. In outer l. field, 𐤑 above 𐤀.

Winterthur Museum (*Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 20, No. 26, Pl. ii, 19, gr. 16.50.

734. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐤑. In inner l. field, 𐤀. In outer r. field, uncertain.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.69. PLATE LIV, 9.

735. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but the inscription sometimes reads: ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΣ CΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. In outer l. field, 𐤀 above 𐤑 or 𐤓. In outer r. field, 𐤓.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 261), gr. 16.45; β) Berlin, →, gr. 16.79. PLATE LIV, 11; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 20, No. 25, Pl. ii, 18), ↑, gr. 16.92. PLATE LIV, 10; δ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), →, gr. 17.07.

736. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding but with a lunate *epsilon* in the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. In outer l. field, 𐤓 (?) above 𐤀. In outer r. field, 𐤑.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 919, Pl. 32, gr. 4.18; β) Newell (from Dr. Lederer's Persian Coll.), ←, gr. 4.06. PLATE LIV, 14.

737. DRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding, but more damaged.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐤀. In outer r. field, 𐤁.

Newell, ↑, gr. 3.97. PLATE LIV, 15.

738. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐤄 (?). In inner l. field, 𐤑.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 918, Pl. 32, gr. 4.09.

739. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡀. In outer r. field, 𐡁 above 𐡄.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 4.04.

740. DRACHM.
From the same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡄.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), →.

741. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡓.

Berlin (Dannenberg Coll.), ↓.

742. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with the normal inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. In outer l. field, 𐡄. In outer r. field, 𐡕 (?).

Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 649, Pl. xviii, gr. 16.27.

743. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding, but the diadem-ends are waving.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡄 above 𐡀. In outer r. field, 𐡉 (?).

White King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 519, Pl. v.

744. TETRADRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡔 above 𐡄. In outer r. field, 𐡀.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 916, Pl. 32, ←, gr. 16.65. PLATE LIV, 12.

745. DRACHM.
Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, 𐡋 above 𐡉 (?). In outer r. field, 𐡎.

Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll. *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 365), →, gr. 4.06. PLATE LIV, 13.

The foregoing group is made distinctive by its somewhat crude and at times almost barbarous style, as well as by the strong concavity which marks so many of the reverses. A similar curious technique is found on most of the drachms of Iranian mintage issued by the Parthian kings from the beginning of the dynasty to the reign of Mithradates II, as also on many of the coins struck by the earlier kings of Persis (Istakhr). This argues strongly for a probable Persian origin of the Seleucid group here described. It is further supported by the tendency of individual pieces to turn up in batches of coins coming from the east, and especially by the fact that three specimens (No. 732 γ and δ, No. 736 β) actually came from collections formed

in Persia, while two more (No. 733 and 735 γ) were sent to Imhoof-Blumer[1] from Bombay. In fact it was this scholar who first drew attention to these coins and assigned them to the eastern portion of the Seleucid dominions, an opinion that cannot be too strongly endorsed. Besides basing his opinion on the source of his two specimens and on their crude style, Imhoof-Blumer pointed out the interesting presence on No. 735 of the lunate *sigma*. In addition, a lunate *epsilon* may also be recognized on the two examples of No. 736 and on No. 737. It is particularly interesting to note that a lunate *epsilon* had already appeared on the Bactrian hemidrachm No. 669, PLATE L, 16, and lunate *sigmas* on the Bactrian tetradrachm No. 674, PLATE L, 21 and the drachm No. 675, PLATE L, 22. This early[2] and persistent recurrence of cursive forms for certain letters on issues produced in the eastern marches of the Seleucid empire, constitutes a further powerful argument for a similar eastern origin of our present group. Finally, it may be noted that in style and general character the head of Antiochus I on PLATE LIV, 1 and 2, has its closest affinities in the portraits on contemporary issues of Ecbatana (PLATE XXXVIII, 12–15) and Bactra (PLATE LI, 13–14, 17–18).

As all the available indications point so consistently to the east, and as no further room exists in the large and closely articulated issues of the mints already studied,[3] it may be accepted that Nos. 727–745 must have emanated from some mint in northern or (preferably) eastern Iran. The coins of Seleucus II (i. e., Nos. 733–745) could not have been struck in Bactria or Margiana, for during his reign these provinces no longer belonged to the Seleucid empire but were ruled over by Bactrian kings. Likewise, the strictly desert or, at best, semi-arid districts of central and southern Persia may be disregarded because of their backward culture and lack of any real commercial importance. On the other hand, it seems extremely probable that the obviously important mint of Nos. 727–745 must have lain somewhere along the great trade route and military highway which ran from Seleucia on the Tigris to Bactria, for it represented at the same time the backbone and the main artery for the Seleucid possessions in Iran. Here, among the possible cultural centres important enough from both a military and an economic standpoint to have possessed such a mint, we may note Raga or Rhagae (the modern Rayy), Hecatompylus (now Shahrud[4]), and Artacoana-Alexandria in Aria (the modern Herat).

Of these, Raga constituted an old and very important city, ten days' journey to the east of Ecbatana and situated near the western entrance of the famous Caspian Gates. The city was refounded by Seleucus Nicator, given the name of Europus (his own birthplace[5]), and might well have been endowed with a mint at

[1] *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 20.

[2] The very earliest on any Greek coin, so far as the writer is aware.

[3] Neither Babylon nor Persepolis can enter into the question. We have seen above, p. 104, that the mint of Babylon could not have existed after 275 B. C., at the very latest. It has also been pointed out, pp. 160–1, that the native kings of Persis almost certainly took over the mint at Persepolis not later than about the time of the death of Seleucus I, and no specimens of our present coins were in the Persepolis hoard (Noe, No. 807) found by Dr. Herzfeld.

[4] Cf. Kiessling in Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. VII, p. 2795.

[5] Strabo XI, 13.6.

that time. The writer long felt inclined to assign to it the little group of coins (Nos. 503–515) with Alexandrine types and the name of Seleucus or of Antiochus. This group is in general similar to the remaining issues of Ecbatana with which it is associated, but differs somewhat in details of type, *nuances* of style and notably in die-positions—which are not inverted, as was the general practice in the Ecbatana mint at this time.[6] Not a single specimen bears the monogram Ⱶ, while only four (Nos. 504–5, 510, 512) out of the thirteen known varieties display the forepart of a FEEDING HORSE—a monogram and a symbol which are so strikingly characteristic of the Ecbatana mint. Curiously enough, some of these coins substitute the fore-parts of a LION or an ELEPHANT for that of the FEEDING HORSE. After long deliberation, however, the group in question has, for the time-being, been left with the issues assigned to Ecbatana. Among the deciding reasons are the following. Broadly speaking, the style and general appearance presented by Nos. 503–515 are not too dissimilar to those of the immediately preceding issues to make their attribution to another mint absolutely imperative. There exists a definite link offered by the magistrate's monogram ⋔ of Nos. 497, 499, 500 and the monogram ⊕ of No. 503; while, in the last analysis, the presence of the FEEDING HORSE symbol on Nos. 504–5, 510 and 512, does seem to offer strong proof that these particular varieties must have been struck at Ecbatana. With them must go the greater part of the remaining varieties as they are all linked together by their common monogram ⍑. The removal from Ecbatana of Nos. 503–515 would leave a very obvious gap in what was apparently a continuous coinage from early in the reign of Seleucus I to Antiochus III, and later. There would remain little to connect the final issues under Seleucus I (Nos. 493–502) with the first issues of Antiochus I, namely Nos. 516ff. Especially noticeable would be the absence of coins at Ecbatana bearing Alexandrine types coupled with the name of Antiochus, a category that introduces the issues of Antiochus I in well-nigh every other mint of the empire. This discrepancy at such a large and continuously active mint as Ecbatana would be painfully obvious, and Nos. 503–515 seem to offer a natural transitional group to bridge the gap.

There still remains a disturbing element which, however, is perhaps more apparent than real. At first sight, there would seem to be some slight connection between Nos. 727–745 and the coins just mentioned, namely Nos. 503–515. For on Nos. 504–505, as also on No. 728, there occur the magistratal letters B A; the monogram ⋐ of Nos. 510–511 occurs again as ⋒ on the much later coins Nos. 735–7 and 739; while the monogram ⍓ of the Antiochus tetradrachm No. 518 is surprisingly close to the ⍓ of Nos. 729–733. But mere similarities in monograms would seem to offer too tenuous a thread upon which to hang any definite attribution where other and more important factors enter into the situation. In the first place, the general character and style of Nos. 730–745 as a group are so far removed from those of the Ecbatana issues of the same period (Nos. 538–570), that one feels compelled to assign them to a mint situated much farther to the east of Ecbatana than

[6] Cf. pp. 175 and 183.

the comparatively nearby Raga. In the second place, the necessity for another active mint at so short a distance from the great one of Ecbatana is, under the conditions obtaining in the third century B. C., not immediately apparent. Finally, it would indeed be surprising to find two large mints operating simultaneously in *one* province. In at least the eastern portions of the Seleucid empire, where the cultural advance and the insistent demands of an extraordinarily active commercial civilization were not so great as in the west, one large central mint was apparently deemed quite sufficient for each single province. Thus, we have Seleucia on the Tigris for Babylonia,[8] Susa for Susiana, Persepolis for Persis, Ecbatana for Media and Bactra for Bactria. The claims of Raga upon Nos. 727–745 (to say nothing of Nos. 503–515), are not as yet of sufficiently serious a nature to induce one to advocate this city as their probable mint.

The Seleucid-Parthian city of Hecatompylus offers weightier reasons for the assignment to it of a mint active under Antiochus I and II and Seleucus II. The city was the meeting place of numerous important roads;[9] it constituted the chief city and capital of the province of Parthia, and it had been refounded by Seleucus I in a strategically better situated spot than the old city of the Achaemenid period.[10] The province included but a narrow strip of habitable country and (in the words of Bevan[11]) "the mountains which bend southwards in a sort of crescent from the Elburz to meet the mountains of Aria. It corresponded with the modern Khorassan, or the northern part of it. It is a country of which the greater part is barren—sterile ranges bordering the great desert, but with tracts here and there in the valleys of extreme fertility."

As the group of coins before us contains so many examples (Nos. 733–745) of Seleucus II's issues, one hesitates to assign it to Hecatompylus. For the city was seized by the Parthian Tiridates and made his capital when he proceeded to expand his little kingdom about 240 B. C.[12] Hence, the interval between the death of Antiochus II in 247 B. C. and the arrival of Tiridates *circa* 240 B. C.—the period during which the mint could have struck money in the name and with the portrait of Seleucus II—appears too short for such an extensive series of issues as is represented by Nos. 733–745. If, however, we follow Beloch[13] and do not place Tiridates' invasion of Parthia until after *circa* 234 B. C., there might well have been time for the coining of Nos. 733–745 at Hecatompylus, previous to the capture of the city. Until our dates are definitely established, or until further evidence in its favor turns

[8] Babylon itself, as we have seen above (pp. 104–106), must be placed in a special category as its coinage was something more in the nature of a tradition, if not purely "temple money." In any case, its issues probably did not outlast Seleucus I.

[9] As its name alone implies. Cf. Polybius X, 28, 7.

[10] Cf. Kiessling in Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. VII, p. 2795.

[11] *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. I, p. 266.

[12] Bevan, *loc. cit.*, p. 285. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 31, places the invasion even earlier, i. e. 242 or 241 B. C. See, however, Bouché-Leclercq, I, p. 108 who would place it about 235 B. C.

[13] Beloch, IV, 1, p. 680, and IV, 2, p. 636, places the date of the battle of Ancyra about 234 B. C.

up, the writer would not advocate the existence of a Seleucid mint at Hecatompylus,[14] although such a possibility should always be kept clearly in mind.

The mint suggested above as a third possibility, namely Artacoana-Alexandria of the Arians (Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ ἐν Ἀρείοις), appeals most strongly of all. The extremely important province of Aria is best described by Bevan[15] who says: "The eastern half of the Irânian upland consists . . . not of a central desert surrounded by mountains, but of a mountain mass pushed out from Central Asia. The backbone of this mass is formed by the Paropanisus (Hindû-Kush), and round about it are the provinces fed by the rivers which it sends down. On the west of it, adjoining Parthia, was the province which drew its life and its name from the river Arius (mod. Harê-Rûd), the province of *Aria* (old Pers. Haraiva). The name bears witness to the grateful contrast of its well-watered valleys with the neighbouring desolation of mountain and desert. It was a land of vineyards, among the six blessed regions of the Vendîdâd. Here Alexander began the work of colonization by planting an Alexandria, and the old capital Articoana was rebuilt in more splendid fashion by Antiochus I. From Alexandria-of-the-Arians two important roads diverged. One ran round the north side of the mountain mass to Bactria, the other went south to Drangiana, and thence reached India by way of Alexandria Arachōtōn (Kandahar). Alexandria Arīōn was thus a station through which all traffic between western Irân and the lands farther east must almost necessarily pass, a knot where the great lateral lines of the world's communications were drawn together." Thus, a more appropriate situation for an important mint could hardly be conceived. Artacoana-Alexandria constituted the central metropolis of a large and fertile region through which passed several busy trade routes, its mint was in a position to supply with a circulating medium not only its own immediate vicinity but also the adjacent regions not so conveniently to be supplied from either Ecbatana or Bactra.

For our purposes, Artacoana and Alexandria of the Arians may be considered as a single city. Bevan suggests[16] that possibly they lay on opposite banks of the river Arius; while to Tomaschek,[17] Artacoana corresponds to the citadel, Alexandria to the lower town (modern Herat) and the commercial centre. Even if no mint had previously been opened here under Seleucus I,[18] it is probable that when Antiochus I

[14] Perhaps the strongest point in favor of Hecatompylus as the mint for Nos. 727–745 may be found in the fact that what are generally regarded as the earliest Parthian coins (i. e. the so-called "beardless" type, Brit. Mus. Cat. *Parthia*, Plate I) repeat many of the characteristic peculiarities of our coins, such as their deeply indented reverses, worn obverse dies and frequently rather crude style of the die-cutting, etc. This similarity would but be natural if the Parthian coins had been struck at Hecatompylus, now become the capital of the Parthian kingdom, in succession to and imitating previous Seleucid coinages there, such as Nos. 733–745. Compare these pieces with two early examples of the Arsacid coinage illustrated on PLATE LVI, 13–14. Note particularly the great similarity in the general character of the inscriptions between PLATE LIV, 10–15 and PLATE LVI, 13.

[15] *Loc. cit.*, p. 268.

[16] *Loc. cit.*, p. 269, n. 1.

[17] Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. II, p. 1304.

[18] But see below, Nos. 746–8 and 751–3, all of which could well be assigned to Artacoana. Unfortunately, as yet, we possess no real evidence to support such an attribution.

rebuilt Artacoana "in more splendid fashion" (as Pliny states) he either established —or reopened— a mint which proceeded to issue the three interesting tetradrachms described above, Nos. 727–729, PLATE LIV, 1–3. In their portraits of Antiochus, the die-cutters effected a sort of compromise between the types as they appear on the issues of Bactra and on those of Ecbatana. The king's cheek and jowl are full and smooth, as at Bactra (PLATE LI, 13–14, 17–18, PLATE LII, 1), and without the deeply sunk lines which characterize the portrait at Ecbatana (PLATE XXXVIII, 12–15; PLATE XXXIX, 5–8). On the other hand, the locks of hair both above and below the diadem are not so varied and restless as on the Bactrian coins, but follow instead the Ecbatana model in their more regular and orderly arrangement. The seated Apollo of our coins holds but one arrow, as on the Bactrian coins (PLATE LII, 4 and 6ff.), not two as on PLATE LII, 5, or three, as on *all* of the Ecbatana issues (PLATES XXXVIII, 11–15, XXXIX, 5–8). Unlike the practice of placing the monograms in the inner left field, as followed at both Ecbatana and Bactra, our die-cutters place them in the fields outside the inscriptions, as well as in the exergue. The letters of the inscription are not so carefully rendered and neatly placed as at Ecbatana, but are large and irregular, and variously spaced as on the contemporaneous issues of Bactra.

The succeeding group (Nos. 730–2, PLATE LIV, 4–8), even though it still bears the portrait of the first Antiochus, has here been assigned to the troubled reign of Antiochus II. For an obvious analogy, we have but to turn to the corresponding coinages (Nos. 178–181 and 186–191, PLATES XV and XVI) of the great mint at Seleucia on the Tigris, administrative centre for all the eastern half of the Seleucid empire. There, the gold and silver issues of Antiochus II continued, without exception, to bear his father's portrait. At Artacoana, there was also a purely local appropriateness for the continued presence on the coins of Antiochus I's portrait, for had he not, as we learn from the elder Pliny, refounded and munificently embellished the city itself? A further reason for the proposed assignment of Nos. 730–2 to Antiochus II, lies in the increasingly barbaric aspect of their reverse dies, and in the continued use from a previous issue of an old obverse die—a die now so worn by long usage that its design has become almost unintelligible (cf. PLATE LIV, 4–5). This crudity of die-cutting and re-employment of a completely worn-out die, when considered together, clearly suggest a time of stress, poverty and uncertainty.

The successful revolt of Bactria in the reign of Antiochus II, deprived the empire of its wealthiest province and most important mint in the Seleucid "far east." The great trade route to Central Asia and China was thus cut off, and with it, doubtless, much of the wealth and commercial importance of Artacoana. In a military sense the province of Aria was now dangerously exposed, bordered as it was on the east by a strong, rich and nationalistic Bactria under its ambitious ruler Diodotus; while to the north and northwest, were rebellious nomad tribes in a position to threaten the lines of communication between Aria, Media, and the remainder of the empire. Indeed, it was not long before these tribes actually broke into open rebellion under Arsaces, followed by his yet abler brother Tiridates. They even

seized the province of Margiana, bordering immediately upon Aria in the north. In the natural course of events, Aria and its neighboring province of Parthia would be the next victims. In addition, we know not what dangers of local uprisings in Aria itself the still loyal Seleucid authorities may have been called upon to meet at this time. No wonder that the products of its mint henceforth bear every appearance of crude and hasty workmanship. That these issues still belong to the same mint as the far better made and more artistic coins of Antiochus I, may be found not only in the continued use of an old obverse die, but also in the magistrate's monogram  , which first appeared on No. 729 (PLATE LIV, 3), continues to be present on all the issues here assigned to Antiochus II, and, finally, occurs again on the first issue (No. 733) of his successor, Seleucus II. It was the continued presence of this curious monogram on issues which bear the portrait, now of Antiochus I, now of Seleucus II, coupled with the total absence of any intervening coinage marked by the features of Antiochus II, that primarily pointed to the necessity of assigning Nos. 730–732 to the latter ruler. It seemed unreasonable to postulate a complete gap, representing his reign of some fifteen years, between Nos. 730–732 and the first issues of Seleucus II.

Under Seleucus II, the issues proceed with a greater number of varieties but an equally crude display of die-cutting. The practice of employing old and worn out dies was also continued. The monogram  appears on the first issue (No. 733), thus furnishing a definite tie with the preceding coinages of Antiochus I and II. The curious monogram of his assistant,  , is also carried over from the last tetradrachm (No. 731) of Antiochus II and, henceforth, is present on nearly all of the known varieties of Seleucus II. The use of cursive forms for *sigma* and *epsilon*, and a tendency towards a cursive form for *beta* as well, indicate that our coins are of eastern mintage, where such forms occur on money at an earlier date than they do in the west.

When Tiridates received the news that Seleucus II had been overwhelmingly defeated at Ankyra by his brother Antiochus Hierax, he seized the opportunity, invaded Parthia and established his capital at Hecatompylus. Aria was thus almost completely cut off from the remainder of the empire, and in imminent danger of being absorbed by one or the other of its two powerful neighbors, Parthia or Bactria. The expedition of Seleucus II into the east[19] for the avowed purpose of recovering the lost Seleucid possessions was perhaps inspired not alone by that laudable desire but also by the necessity of bringing relief to the hard-pressed province of Aria. After some initial successes, Seleucus was suddenly called back to Syria by a dangerous revolt at home. Whether it was at this time that Aria finally succumbed, we do not know. Tomaschek[20] claims that it remained Seleucid until Antiochus III, when it came into the possession of the Parthians. The coins them-

[19] Placed by Bouché-Leclercq, p. 108, at 235 B. C. Neither Bevan, nor Stähelin in Pauly-Wissowa, definitely date this expedition except as having taken place after the battle of Ankyra. Beloch, IV, 2, p. 636, places the expedition in 230 B. C.

[20] Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. II, p. 619.

selves, unfortunately, do not solve the question; but the comparatively long series bearing the name and portrait of Seleucus II suggest that the loss to the Seleucids of Artacoana (assuming that this was the location of the mint) should be postponed to as late a date as possible. The crude appearance of the coins themselves, and the continued use of much-worn dies—dies which in any other mint would long since have been discarded—support the assignment of our coins to some outlying and hard pressed district where the niceties of a smoothly functioning mint could not be expected in times of stress.

Eventually,[21] Aria was absorbed by Bactria, perhaps early in the reign of Antiochus III, at the time when Molon rebelled and so nearly succeeded in erecting a kingdom of his own out of the Seleucid provinces of Babylonia, Susiana, Persis and Media. Certainly Aria was largely Bactrian in 207 B. C., when Antiochus III began operations against the eastern kingdom. For Polybius relates[22] how the cavalry of Euthydemus I, now the Bactrian king, held one bank of the river Arius against the invaders. After their defeat, and during the ensuing siege of Bactra, Artacoana must have served Antiochus as a most suitable advanced base. Possibly there were now coined here such pieces as are described below under the issues of uncertain mints, Nos. 762–4, PLATE LVI, 1–4.

[21] If we follow the older historians, as against Beloch's assumption that Aria was acquired by Bactria as early as the reign of Diodotus I.

[22] X, 49, 1.

CHAPTER VIII

UNCERTAIN MINTS

After the coinages of such large mints as Seleucia, Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Bactra and Artacoana have been segregated and arranged, there still remains a small residue of material which, by style or provenance, appears to be of eastern origin, but which will not logically fit into the coinages as described in preceding chapters. These coins are arranged into groups where possible, and discussed in the light of our present knowledge. Eventually, after further excavations have been carried out in the east and more material has been made available, it may prove feasible to assign the majority of them to their probable mints.

A

SELEUCUS I

746. DRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Fighting Athena in quadriga of elephants to r. Above, ANCHOR. Between anchor and elephants, IAΔIΞI or IΛΔIΞI.

Dr. Arthur S. Dewing, ↗, gr. 3.84. PLATE LV, 1.

In style, this drachm more nearly approaches the coinages of Seleucia on the Tigris than those of Susa or Bactra. But the retrograde and curiously formed magistrate's name seems somewhat of an anomaly for the issues of the Seleucid capital. Perhaps it represents the rendering in a more complete form of the initials IΣ on Nos. 51 and 51A.

B

ANTIOCHUS I (UNDER SELEUCUS I)

747. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two lines on r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l., holding eagle on outstretched r., and resting l. upon sceptre. In l. field, ⋔ above Α. Beneath throne, ⊓ above Δ.

London (from the Punjab), ↗, gr. 17.09. PLATE LV, 2.

748. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, except that ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is on the r. and in the exergue is . . . . . .ΧΟΥ or . . . . . ΚΟΥ. In l. field, ⋔.

Newell (from India), ↗, gr. 16.38. PLATE LV, 3.

The general similarity in fabric, and particularly in the details of their reverse dies (style, the form of the throne, the head of Zeus, the monogram ⍝ on No. 747, ⍝ on No. 748) prove these coins to have originated in a single mint. As both coins have reached us from India, and as we possess no records of similar coins having been found elsewhere, it is probable that their true origin may be sought in Bactria or eastern Persia. Such an assignment has already been advanced by Gardner, many years ago, for No. 747.[1] As he pointed out, the London coin was struck while Antiochus was acting as his father's viceroy over the east. Unfortunately, the king's name on No. 748 is not clear, but the traces that remain suggest the name of Antiochus rather than that of Seleucus. None of the monograms suggests Bactra, nor will the coins themselves fit easily into the closely connected issues of that mint as described in a preceding chapter. A mint in eastern Iran would therefore appear more probable, perhaps the capital of such a province as Aria (of which we actually possess some later issues), or even Drangiana. Perhaps Alexandria-Prophthasia, capital of the very important province of Drangiana (Seistan),[1a] would seem to be the most likely mint for such coins as Nos. 747–8.

C

SELEUCUS I

749. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of a Dioscurus to r. wearing a *pilos* adorned with a wreath. Behind, ⍝. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in curved line on l. Forepart of horned horse to r. Above, anchor. In front, ⍝.

α) London (from India), ←, gr. 9.07. PLATE LV, 4; β) London (from the Punjab), →, gr. 7.52. PLATE LV, 5; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Choix de monnaies grecques*, Pl. viii, 247 and *Monnaies grecques*, p. 471, No. 77), ↑, gr. 7.95. PLATE LV, 6; δ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2860), ↙, gr. 6.40 (corroded).

750. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Behind head, STAR above uncertain monogram. Bevelled edge.

Similar to the preceding. Monogram uncertain.

London (Petrowicz Coll.), →, gr. 3.97. PLATE LV, 7.

As two of the specimens testify by their source, and as their style and fabric in general suggest, these coins may be of Bactrian or east Iranian origin. They may represent some of the still missing bronze issues under Seleucus I from Bactra or Artacoana. Their monograms do not, indeed, occur upon the known gold and silver coins of these mints, but in the case of bronze coins this is not necessarily a serious objection to the attribution, as such pieces were frequently coined under the supervision of magistrates other than those responsible for the more valuable metals.

[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, Vol. XX, 1880, pp. 189–90; Babelon, *loc. cit.*, p. xl.

[1a] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 14 and 49.

D

SELEUCUS I

751. DRACHM.

Head of horned and bridled horse to r. In front, A. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Anchor. Circle of dots.

London (from Chanda Mall), ↑, gr. 3.98. PLATE LV, 8.

752. DRACHM.

Head of a horned and bridled horse to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Anchor. Circle of dots.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 805, Pl. 27 (= Prowe Coll., Egger Sale, Nov. 1904, No. 1526, Pl. x), gr. 4.29; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 806, Pl. 27, gr. 4.13; γ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2925, Pl. lxxxv (= Benson Coll., Sotheby Sale, Feb. 1909, No. 755 a, Pl. xxv), gr. 4.04. PLATE LV, 9; δ) Jameson Coll., No. 1657, Pl. lxxxii, gr. 3.82; ε) Berlin (Fox Coll.), →; ζ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↓; ζ) Vienna, gr. 4.41. PLATE LV, 10.

753. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, but with symbol, GRAPE-CLUSTER.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 804, Pl. 27 (= Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2924, Pl. lxxxv), gr. 4.00; β) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 408, Pl. 13; γ) Newell (from Persia), ↓, gr. 4.05; δ) Newell (Sir Herman Weber Coll., No. 7833, Pl. 285), ↗, gr. 4.18. PLATE LV, 11; ε) Paris (Babelon, No. 56, Pl. ii, 10), gr. 4.15; ζ) London (Gardner, p. 4, No. 41, Pl. ii, 1), →, gr. 4.22. PLATE LV, 12; ζ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↓, gr. 4.03.

Although exactly similar types are to be found on an issue of bronze coins (Nos. 45–46) from the mint at Seleucia on the Tigris under Seleucus I, style, fabric, the magistrate's symbol, and the recorded provenance of these silver pieces would not support such an attribution. Most of the criteria available point to a mint further east than Mesopotamia. The accompanying magistrate's symbol, GRAPE-CLUSTER, does not occur on any other known coin of Seleucus I. On the other hand, certain coins of Attic or of modified Attic type and of Indian weight[2] bear in the field behind the Athena head a grape-cluster, or behind the eagle a vine-branch with two grape-clusters. These coins invariably reach the west from India, and so were presumably coined in Bactria or Afghanistan. The horned horse's-head type points to Bactria, as also (to a certain extent) do the shapes of the letters, the presence of a somewhat similar monogram on the obverse (cf. Nos. 657 and 751), and the rather dry, hard technique of the die-cutting—especially on Nos. 751 (PLATE LV, 8) and 753δ (PLATE LV, 11). The horse's forelock (cf. PLATE LV, 8) has sometimes the general shape of a horn, but does not stand erect as on the issues of Bactra under Antiochus I. One specimen in the author's collection came to him directly from Persia, while a report about to be published by Dr. Robert H. McDowell states that eight specimens, from strictly Persian sources, are in the museum at Teheran. The London specimen, No. 751, was secured from a dealer in India.

[2] Barclay V. Head, *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. VI, 1906, pp. 10–11, Pl. II, 1–8.

The die-positions (other than those of No. 753 γ and δ) given may not be strictly accurate and no conclusion should be based on them, the reason being that the writer, when recording the die-positions in his notes made nearly fifteen years ago, omitted to indicate in just which way each individual coin was held in the process. The natural way to depict an anchor is with the flukes at the bottom, but this is not always the ancient way, as investigation of various series with the anchor as a type will demonstrate. If, to determine the die-positions of No. 753, the coins are so held that the flukes are at the bottom, we discover that the symbol GRAPE-CLUSTER is then depicted upside-down. On the other hand, in holding the coin so that the flukes are on top (a position actually indicated to be the correct way, both by the evidence of similar coins at Seleucia and by the natural position of the GRAPE-CLUSTER), then the king's title falls on the left and the entire inscription commences at the lower left hand—an unusual procedure in Seleucid numismatics.

The writer is at present inclined to believe, although without much assurance, that we have in these coins an early issue of Seleucus at Bactra. On the other hand, if the GRAPE-CLUSTER be taken strictly as a mint-mark, it might suggest an origin in either Margiane or Aria, both provinces noted for the excellence of their grapes.[2a] In any case, present indications are that our coins must have been struck in eastern Iran or in what is now north-western Afghanistan.

E

SELEUCUS I

754. HEMIDRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two parallel lines on the r. Zeus seated to l., holds eagle in outstretched r. and rests l. upon sceptre. In l. field, ☧. Beneath throne, 𐡀.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Monnaies grecques*, p. 422, No. 5), ↙, gr. 1.66. PLATE LV, 13.

General appearance, together with the placing of the inscription in two parallel lines to the right of the type, suggest an eastern origin for this little coin. Nothing further, however, can be ventured at this time.

[2a] Strabo XI, 10, 1 (Loeb Series. Translated by Dr. Jones): "The land (Aria) is exceedingly productive of wine, which keeps good for three generations in vessels not smeared with pitch." And, for Margiana, XI, 10, 2: "The soil of the country is well suited to the vine; at any rate, they say that a stock of the vine is often found which will require two men to girth it, and that the bunches of grapes are two cubits." See also Strabo II, 1, 14; Pliny Nat. Hist. VI, 46f.; Solinus 48, 2f.

F

ANTIOCHUS I

755. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. wearing lion's skin.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, commencing in the exergue and running upwards in a continuous curve on the r. Zeus, lower limbs draped, seated to l. upon *diphros*, resting l. upon sceptre and holding an eagle in his outstretched r. In l. field, 𐡀. Beneath throne, 𐡌. Circle of very fine dots.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 836, Pl. 28, gr. 14.90 (sic! cast?). Many of the letters of the inscription have been re-engraved; β) Newell (Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 412, Pl. 13), ↖, gr. 16.62. PLATE LV, 14; γ) Vienna, gr. 15.30.

The tetradrachms here described were probably coined in the east because of their general style and fabric, and because the details of the obverse type appear to have been copied from tetradrachms of Ecbatana.[3] The reverse design, however, is more original, and the writer is as yet unable to point out the probable prototype. The die-position is unusual for this period in the known mints of northern Iran, but it is the same as that of the drachm (No. 756) described below.

G

ANTIOCHUS I

756. DRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on r. The exergue is off flan. Zeus seated to l. as on the preceding coin. In l. field, HORNED HORSE'S HEAD to l.

Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 838, Pl. 28), ↖, gr. 3.98. PLATE LV, 15.

The hammered edge to this coin suggests Bactria, whose early Seleucid issues have similar edges. The symbol also suggests Bactria, although it is closely similar to the same symbol found in the fields of certain Alexander tetradrachms and drachms, as well as "lion" staters and other gold and bronze pieces belonging to the mint of Ecbatana.[4] But the name of Antiochus separates our coin from them by too wide a margin to allow an assignment to the capital of Media. On the other hand, the symbol is also similar to the obverse type of the drachms Nos. 751–3 which were coined by Seleucus at an uncertain eastern mint (Bactra?). There is also a general similarity of fabric and of style, while the edges of No. 756 and of Nos. 751–3 are hammered and their reverse dies are surrounded by a finely beaded circle. It may be noted, further, that we have as yet found no coins of Alexandrine type, bearing the name of Antiochus I, which can be assigned to Bactra as its opening issue of that

[3] Compare, for instance, the coins on PLATES XXXVI and XXXVII.
[4] See above, Nos. 457–462, PLATE XXXV, 1–9.

monarch's reign. Such coins are known for Seleucia on the Tigris, for Ecbatana,[48a] and for nearly every one of the western mints. Hence it is conceivable that No. 756 *may* represent the still missing corresponding type for Bactra.

H

ANTIOCHUS I

757. OBOL.

Elephant's head to r., without horns. On l., A. Horned horse's head to r.

Newell (Petrowicz Coll., ex Alichan Coll., Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 814, Pl. 27), ↓, gr. 0.43 (large hole). PLATE LV, 16.

The curious little obol here described seems almost certainly to be Seleucid because of its types. Only one letter of the legend is visible on the extreme left of the reverse flan, namely an A, which from its position may be the initial letter of an inscription. If so, then it would be the name of an Antiochus only which need be considered. The style suggests the period of Seleucus I or Antiochus I, and a mint in the eastern portion of his empire. If, however, the aforementioned letter stands alone (uncertain because of the large hole to its right), it may connect this obol with the Susian issues Nos. 321–323, PLATE XXIV, 16–18, which also bear the letter A as their sole inscription.

I

ANTIOCHUS I or II

758. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Draped bust of Hermes, wearing *petasus* and holding *caduceus* at r. shoulder, facing three-quarters to l. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo, naked, standing facing three-quarters to l., rests l. upon bow and holds arrow in outstretched r. In l. inner field, Ⅎ. In r. outer field, ⋈.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 6.40. PLATE LV, 17; β) Newell (from Persia), ↗, gr. 7.42. PLATE LV, 18.

759. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding.

α) Newell (Gen. Starosselsky Coll.), ←, gr. 2.08; β) Wilson, Azerbaijan, ↖, gr. 1.86; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 1.73. PLATE LV, 19; δ) London, ←, gr. 2.25. PLATE LV, 20.

Although at least three of the above specimens come to us from Persia, the exact assignment of the group to its original mint is still quite impossible. The general aspect and fabric of the coins display similarities with certain issues of Seleucia, Susa and Ecbatana. But the specimens themselves do not seem to fit easily into the known coinages of those cities, nor are examples recorded as having been found in the excavations of their sites. The mint may have lain in northern

[48a] At Susa the Alexandrine silver coins of Antiochus I continue to bear his father's name.

Mesopotamia from which district other specimens have a tendency to drift into northwestern Persia, whence at least two of the coins listed under No. 759 have actually come.

J

ANTIOCHUS I or II

760. BRONZE DOUBLE (or TRIPLE ?).
Beardless male head, with flowing locks, three-quarters facing to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ below thunderbolt placed horizontally.

From Baghdad.

Too late for inclusion on our plates, the coin here described was brought to the American Numismatic Society by a young Baghdad student. The owner preferred not to part with it but kindly allowed a cast to be made. Unfortunately, the coin is in an extremely worn state and so does not permit an exact identification of the obverse type. The features are full and obviously youthful. Their general character is not unlike that of the Helios heads on certain third century coins of Rhodes, such, for instance, as British Museum Catalogue, *Caria*, PLATE XXXVIII, 7, but with a more 'pathetic' expression. As no rays can be distinguished, the head may have been intended as that of Alexander the Great. A young Heracles is probably out of the question as the flying locks leave no room for a lion's skin. Because of its poor preservation, nothing can be discerned of any monograms the coin might once have borne on its reverse.

Style and fabric are typical of the issues from Seleucia on the Tigris and the piece may be assigned to that mint during the reign of Antiochus I or II. The simplicity of the reverse type suggests the period of the former, while the lowness of relief for the head is not unlike that found on the Apollo head of our PLATE XVI, 3. On the other hand, the softness of the modelling and the 'pathetic' expression of the features suggest a later period.

K

SELEUCUS II

761. STATER.
Diademed head of Seleucus II to r., with fluttering diadem-ends. Circle of dots. Hammered edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, nude, standing l., holds arrow in outstretched r. and rests l. elbow on tall tripod. Circle of dots.

Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 907, Pl. 32), ↗, gr. 8.59.

The type of Apollo leaning against his tripod is as exceptional for the gold coins of Seleucus II as it is typical of his tetradrachms. No other similar specimen is known to the writer. Unfortunately, the coin is not provided with either a symbol or a monogram, and it cannot therefore be definitely assigned to any one mint.

That the coin originated in the eastern half of the Seleucid empire may readily be surmised by the somewhat crude style of its die-cutting, by the rough or unfinished surfaces of its dies, and, above all, by its hammered edges. The last is a characteristic feature of most blanks prepared for staters and tetradrachms in the mints of Seleucia, Susa, Ecbatana and Bactra under the Seleucid kings. The fluttering diadem-ends are similar to those of PLATE XVII, 3 (Seleucia on the Tigris) and PLATE XL, 6–10, 18 (Ecbatana). In particular, the type of portraiture, the arrangement of the locks of hair, the proportions and general character of the Apollo figure are strikingly similar to those found on the last mentioned coin. It is therefore suggested that our stater may have been coined at Ecbatana to finance or to commemorate Seleucus II's campaign against the Parthians.

L

ANTIOCHUS III

762. DRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. upon *omphalos;* he holds arrow in his outstretched r. and rests l. upon bow. In outer l. field, uncertain monogram.

Newell, ↗, gr. 3.99. PLATE LVI, 1.

Style and fabric of this drachm suggest the eastern portion of the Seleucid empire, while its reverse displays many affinities with the later drachm issues of Ecbatana.[5] It may actually have been coined in that mint, although the die-cutting appears a little too rough and the portrait does not fit easily with the known varieties assigned to Ecbatana. The author, therefore, prefers to reserve judgment until the appearance of a more perfectly preserved specimen gives the exact form of the monogram.

M

ANTIOCHUS III

763. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Elephant advancing to r., surmounted by its *mahout.* In front, 卌. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Winged Nike advancing to r., holding filleted wreath in her outstretched r. In front, 𐅃. In the exergue, ΠΛ.

α) Rev. Edgar Rogers Coll. (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 247, No. 13, Pl. ix, 15), gr. 7.90; β) Newell, ↗, gr. 7.75. PLATE LVI, 2; γ) Newell, →, gr. 7.73. PLATE LVI, 3.

764. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding.

α) Yakountchikof Coll., *Unpublished Coins* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 39, No. 100, Pl. viii, gr. 2.26; β) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, ↘, gr. 1.79. PLATE LVI, 4.

[5] Cf. PLATE XLVIII, 13–17.

The fabric of these coins is similar to the bronze issues of Ecbatana, but the flans are more carelessly made. The marks of the file used in smoothing the surface of the blank after casting, but before striking, are still visible on the reverse of PLATE LVI, 3. The style, too, is inferior to that of Ecbatana at this time, and in no way will our coins actually fit into the numerous bronze issues of the Median capital. Fabric and the only provenance record which we possess suggest Persia, while the types point to the time of Antiochus III's campaign in Bactria and India. A further and interesting indication of the area in which these coins probably circulated is the rare bronze coin of the Bactrian king Antimachus Theos,[6] whose types in a general way imitate those of our coins. The latter may therefore have been coined by Antiochus, in the course of his campaigns in Bactria or Afghanistan, for the purpose of circulating as "small change" among the soldiers of his army and in their dealings with the natives. Many pieces probably remained behind after his departure, and their types later inspired the die-cutters of Antimachus.

The second letter of the exergual inscription on the reverse is certainly a *lambda*, and not a *delta* as read by Dr. Rogers. Hence, it cannot represent a date. The monogram in front of Nike *could* be resolved into the initials of Artacoana—but mint-monograms are so rare and uncertain in Seleucid numismatics previous to the reign of Alexander Bala, that the suggestion is far from convincing.

N

ANTIOCHUS III

765. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. The diadem-ends are fluttering.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ below an elephant advancing to r. On the l., Ϙ; on the r., ⋦.

Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 1003, Pl. 36 = Tobin Bush Coll., Sotheby Sale, Nov. 1902, No. 213), ↖, gr. 16.32. PLATE LVI, 5.

Although closely connected in general appearance with the earlier elephant tetradrachms of Ecbatana (PLATE XLVII, 9–11), this particular variety differs in a number of details. The type of portraiture is indeed somewhat similar, but the diadem-ends on our coin are fluttering, while those of Series IV at Ecbatana hang stiffly downwards. On our coin, too, the cutting of both letters and monograms is far more negligent, almost "careless," and the elephant itself is not so well rendered as on the Median tetradrachms. Neither of the two monograms recur in the time of Antiochus III on the issues of any of the mints studied in the present work. Although the piece must remain unassigned to a particular mint, its general appearance and fabric proclaim an eastern origin—perhaps in northern Mesopotamia or at Artacoana after the conclusion of the peace treaty between Antiochus III and Euthydemus I.

[6] R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 19, No. 59, Pl. ii; Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, Pl. xxx, 7.

Having now reached the end of the coinages from Seleucus I to Antiochus III, which can be assigned to the ancient mints once flourishing in the districts of Irak, of Iran, and of the lands bordering thereon to the east, there remains but to call the reader's attention to certain imitations of early Seleucid coins as illustrated on PLATE LVI. Specimens such as Nos. 6 and 10–12 reach the west principally through India, but come originally, for the most part, from regions north of the Hindu Kush. Two examples were first published by James Prinsep[7] and later reproduced, Plate ix, 6–7, in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. The most recent mention of such pieces is by Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe (*Revue numismatique*, 4th Ser., Vol. XXVIII, 1925, pp. 43–44[8]) who believes them to have been coined during the period of the Bactrian kings and in the northern portions of their kingdom. The five specimens[9] in the author's collection (three of which are illustrated on Plate LVI), reached him from India. Coins of this type are obviously copies (some degenerate, others less so), of the earlier issues of Antiochus I at Bactra.[10] Few of them succeed in reproducing very well the salient characteristics of the king's portrait, while their reverses offer a truly barbarous imitation of the horse's head found on their prototypes. It is accompanied by a few barbaric letters, probably meaningless. These late imitations were preceded by others of better style, such as may be seen in Naville Sale X, June 1925, Pl. 30, No. 881; Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, Pl. 50, No. 1431 (in gold); *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, Vol. XV, 1913, Pl. xviii, 1–2. The last two examples are stated[11] to have been purchased in Samarkand or Russian Turkestan.

Specimens similar to PLATE LVI, 7–9, belong to a class which reaches us from Baluchistan.[12] They are imitated from the Persepolitan coinages of Seleucus I[13] and have been mentioned above, p. 159. Although the originals are only known to bear the name of Seleucus, some of these imitations appear to be provided with the name of Antiochus.[14]

While all the afore-mentioned imitations are almost surely not 'official' issues, they doubtless formed part of the general circulation in the far eastern provinces, or in the districts bordering on the Seleucid empire. In any case, they clearly attest the popularity of certain coinages issued by the royal Seleucid mints in Iran and Afghanistan.

[7] Cf. Thomas, Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 400, Pl. xxxii, 17–18, from Gen. Cunningham's cabinet and purchased from Gen. Arnold.

[8] Illustrated in the *Revue numismatique*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, Plate X (VI), 21–24.

[9] For further specimens, see Naville Sale X, May 1925, Pl. 28, Nos. 831–834.

[10] Cf. Nos. 676-691, Plate LI.

[11] *Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XV, 1913, p. 185.

[12] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Ser., Vol. IV, 1904, Pl. xvii, 1–7.

[13] Here, PLATE XXXII.

[14] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. IX, 1889, p. 306, Pl. XIII, 2.

CHAPTER IX

Notes on the Bronze Coinages

Before closing our study, a word should be said concerning the bronze coinages and their probable relationship to the accompanying silver. As stated on p. 11, the designations employed (i. e., octuple, quadruple, triple, double, unit, half, quarter) are purely arbitrary.[1] They serve, however, to visualize more easily, though in a somewhat empirical fashion, the various sizes, weights and possible denominations involved. Although, between coin and coin, these weights may sometimes appear rather variable (as is so often the case with ancient bronze), when taken as a whole they obviously fall into seven quite clearly defined categories. Especially is this the case if a certain reasonable latitude be allowed for the effects of corrosion, drastic cleaning or the wear and tear of a long circulation which individual specimens may have suffered. In general it has been found that clearer and more consistent results can be obtained by placing our dependence upon weights, rather than upon diameters, as a criterion. For a difference in sizes between the smaller denominations, if expressed in terms of their diameters, is not quite so quickly evident as is the difference when expressed in weights. Except in a very general way, sizes really convey little to the perception. By noting the weights, however, it will at once become clear that each denomination, starting with the smallest, was obviously intended to represent the half of the next largest coin.[2] Furthermore, it sometimes happens that at different mints, or at different periods in the same mint, the flans used are now 'dumpy,' now thinner and more spread. This fact would readily tend to a lack of clarity, or even to confusion, if the coin-diameters alone should be considered.

Having before us not only a very large number, but also a comparatively unbroken series, of coins and weights, can we offer a tentative suggestion as to the possible nomenclature which the various denominations once bore? It has sometimes been taken as a sort of axiom, by students of Greek coins, that where within a single series, or period of time, there exists a considerable number of different denominations, the smallest gold coin issued should represent (and frequently does) the largest silver piece. It has also been claimed that, by analogy, the smallest silver piece should theoretically be the equivalent of the largest bronze coin issued. In the case of the Seleucid coinages before us, the silver obol is comparatively common and was coined at practically all of the mints studied. The half-obol, on the other hand, is known only for Ecbatana, and even there it is extremely rare.[3] The

[1] We have assigned the term 'unit' to that category to which belongs by far the greatest number of specimens (430 as against the 255 of the next largest category, the 'double'), and have arranged the remainder as its multiples or divisions.

[2] Except in the case of the 'triple,' which is not often present and which, at best, is the least certain of our proposed divisions.

[3] Only two issues are recorded, Nos. 432 (two specimens known) and 452 (three specimens known).

heaviest bronze coin known is the so-called 'octuple,' coined in considerable numbers at Ecbatana. If we should then, following the above-mentioned axiom and assuming the rare half-obol to be a mere 'sport,' claim the bronze 'octuple' to be the equivalent of the silver obol, we must recognize in it a piece of eight chalci; and we should have the following table:

TABLE I

Bronze	'octuple'	= 8 chalci	
"	'quadruple'	= 4 "	
"	'triple'	= 3 "	
"	'double'	= 2 "	
"	'unit'	= The chalcus	
"	'half'	= ½ "	(or 4 ? lepta)[4]
"	'quarter'	= ¼ "	(or 2 ? lepta)

This result appears to be reasonable. A similar nomenclature was envisaged long ago by Imhoof-Blumer,[5] though on other grounds. It is further definitely supported by an issue of three denominations brought out, for the most part at Seleucia on the Tigris,[6] by Antiochus IV. These denominations are severally marked: $\frac{\Delta}{X}$, $\frac{B}{X}$, $\frac{A}{X}$, or (obviously) four, two and one chalci. Such of their weights as happen to be available are given in Table II.

A comparison of these weights with those recorded in our catalogue for the corresponding 'quadruples,' 'doubles' and 'units,' reveals how essentially the same they are throughout.[7] Later, when serious troubles all but overwhelmed the Seleucid empire, a further series of $\frac{\Delta}{X}$ coins was issued under Alexander I Balas; but these pieces were apparently brought out on a basis of just half of their former weights. Three specimens in the author's collection weigh grammes 9.36, 8.78 and 7.90 respectively. But under the earlier kings, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III, the higher standard throughout all denominations was maintained with commendable

[4] The chalcus is generally stated to have been divided at Athens into seven lepta, but this belief is based only on a late writer of the fourth or fifth century A. D. (cf. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, p. 229) and, in the nature of things, is hardly credible for the third century B. C. The term *lepton* means only the smallest of coins, and not some one definite denomination. Hence the translators of the New Testament employed therefor the English term 'mite'. The word apparently designated different coins in different parts of the Greek world. In the issues before us the 'unit' might well have been divided into eight, four or even two lepta—or whatever term therefor might have been current in the Greek orient.

[5] *Monnaies grecques*, p. 429; *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, Vol. III, 1876, p. 348, based on Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, p. 27 (Kings).

[6] Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 188, believes the mint to have been Babylon.

[7] The only possible question they might raise is with regard to the so-called 'octuples', three of whose recorded weights fall as low as grammes 20.18 (a very worn specimen), 21.40 and 21.41. Such coins could, presumably, be named 'sextuples', were it not for the fact that weights of similar pieces run as high as 31.73 and 28.90. Hence the intention must have been to produce a coin which would pass as the double of the 'quadruple', whose average weight falls around fifteen and sixteen grammes. No great pains were ever taken in ancient Greek mints to adjust the weights of their bronze coins to a nicety.

consistency, only momentary lapses of a very minor nature being noticeable at certain mints.

TABLE II

$\frac{\Delta}{X}$		$\frac{B}{X}$		$\frac{A}{X}$	
Paris	20.25	Newell	8.88	Paris	5.10
Newell	18.14	Glasgow	8.68	Glasgow	4.41
Imhoof-Blumer	16.55	Newell	8.18	Newell	4.31
London	16.52	"	7.79	Leningrad	4.15
Newell	16.52	Imhoof-Blumer	7.36	Glasgow	4.08
Leningrad	15.50	Glasgow	7.39	Newell	4.07
Paris	14.20	Paris	7.10	"	4.06
Newell	13.48	Newell	6.67	Paris	4.05
Nisibis Mint		"	6.36	Imhoof-Blumer	3.87
Glasgow	11.27	Paris	6.20	Newell	3.59
				Glasgow	3.50
				Leningrad	3.45
				Paris	3.40
				Newell	3.32
				Paris	2.95
				Glasgow	2.82

The equation of the terms employed in our study for the various bronze denominations with their ancient equivalents, as proposed in Table I, is further supported by the following considerations. It will be noted that, except for an obol struck under Antiochus III (No. 590) and another coined either by Seleucus I or Antiochus I (No. 757), the remaining silver obols were all issued under Seleucus I, at Seleucia, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana and Bactra. The largest bronze coins struck during this reign are 'quadruples.' These, according to Table I, may be pieces of four chalci (i. e., half-obols) issued to circulate as the halves of the silver obols at this time being prolifically coined at all mints. At present, they are known only for Seleucia and Susa, where no silver half-obols exist; they are not known for Ecbatana (in the time of Seleucus I) where silver half-obols *do* exist. Barring the two exceptions mentioned above, no silver obols or half-obols appear after the death of Seleucus I, but bronze half-obols (pieces of four chalci) were now being struck in ever increasing quantities. Thus at no single mint is there a contemporaneous conflict between the same denomination coined in different metals. On the other hand, for the reign of Seleucus I, the accepted axiom is again vindicated, for the smallest silver coin (the half-obol in this metal at Ecbatana) is the equivalent of the largest bronze coin (the half-obols, or pieces of four chalci, of Seleucia and Susa).

Bronze obols ('octuples' or pieces of eight chalci) appear for the first time under Seleucus II. In the present study these occur only at Ecbatana, a mint which had coined silver obols in an especially profuse manner between seventy-five and fifty

years previously, but had not issued any since. Significantly enough, the smallest silver denomination issued at Ecbatana under Seleucus II was now the diobol (No. 562)—a very rare denomination in the early Seleucid series. Having once commenced to bring out the obol in bronze, Ecbatana continued the practice under Antiochus III, Timarchus and Demetrius I. Thus it will be seen that by accepting the equations as arranged in Table I, the fractional silver and multiple bronze coins seem to dovetail very satisfactorily at our several mints.

One further point, however, calls for attention. The sum of the known weights of fifteen 'octuples'[8] amounts to grammes 380.75, or an average of something under 26 grammes per coin. If the bronze coins are assumed to have been produced according to the intrinsic value of their metal content,[9] and the intended weight of the silver obol is considered to have been about 0.70 grammes at this period,[10] then we find that silver is to bronze as 1 : 37—a remarkably high valuation for bronze in terms of silver.[11] We must then suppose that at this time in the Greek orient bronze coins had degenerated into a mere token coinage. This in itself would be a reasonable supposition. It must certainly be the case with regard to the specifically named denominations struck by Antiochus IV at Seleucia and Nisibis, for there seems to be no valid reason why bronze should have been so much more valuable in the orient than in the west. Of course it is conceivable that Antiochus IV, forced to such a step by his financial difficulties, had decided to reduce the weights of bronze coins by half and issue a purely token coinage—just as Alexander Balas again did later. Lest his eastern subjects should mistake the changed denominations, each coin was now to bear its mark of value. Otherwise the question could well be asked as to why, after over a century of using numerous denominations in bronze, a system of indicating their values should suddenly have been adopted.[12] The most obvious answer is to suppose that at a given moment the weights had been reduced to half and if the values of the new coins had not been clearly marked much confusion and trouble would have resulted.

In the light of a possible drastic reduction in the weight of the bronze coinage by Antiochus IV, we are forced to propose the following equations for the earlier coins:

[8] No. 622 ϵ has been omitted, as this particular specimen is extremely worn and its weight therefore unusually low.

[9] As Giesecke, for instance, maintains to have been the case throughout the Greek world.

[10] Of the many specimens recorded in our catalogue only two (Nos. 469 ρ and 479 α) weigh 0.71, three (Nos. 416, 431 α, 479 γ) weigh 0.70, while the remainder, when in fine condition, average around 0.67 and 0.66 grammes.

[11] Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica* and *Italia Numismatica, passim* (and especially his tables on pp. 171–2 and 354–5 respectively) argues that in both Sicily and Italy in the third century B. C. silver in terms of bronze varied between 1 : 120, 1 : 100, 1 : 96. In the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. it had varied between 1 : 50 and 1 : 80.

[12] This can hardly be another instance of Antiochus IV's well-known *penchant* for aping certain Roman practices with which he had become acquainted during his long sojourn on the banks of the Tiber. In that case the coins at *all* of his mints, and especially Antioch, should have borne their several marks of value.

TABLE III

Bronze	'octuple'	= 4	chalci	(or a half-obol)
"	'quadruple'	= 2	"	
"	'triple'	= 1½	"	
"	'double'	= The chalcus		
"	'unit'	= ½	"	(4 lepta)
"	'half'	= ¼	"	(2 lepta)
"	'quarter'	= ⅛	"	(lepton)

This arrangement has the advantage of definitely giving to our smallest bronze piece the well known designation of lepton, the ordinary tiniest Greek denomination attested by literature. According to it silver would then be to bronze as 1 : 74, still low as compared to the western Greek world but quite possible. Finally, it shows our axiom to be theoretically exact, the smallest known silver piece (the half-obol of Ecbatana) becoming the equivalent of our largest bronze coin, the 'octuple.' It also approximately equates with the proposals of Babelon,[13] who makes out the bronze obol to be grammes 68.80 in weight. His assertion, however, that the several denominations varied very considerably in weight throughout the Seleucid dominions is unacceptable for the first one hundred and fifty years of the dynasty's existence. In any case, the whole matter still remains, at best, theoretical—until definite information can be obtained from tablets, inscriptions or parchments yet to be unearthed. Hence the writer prefers to abide by the more prosaic but immeasurably safer designations employed in the present study for the various bronze denominations.

[13] *Rois de Syrie*, etc., pp. clxxxiii–clxxxvi.

ERRATUM

The second line of the caption to PLATE XXV should read:
SERIES III, Groups E (1–4), F (5–7), G (8–17), H (18–19).

TABULAR SURVEY

SELEUCIA

SELEUCUS I. 312–280 B. C.

Series I, Group A, c. 305–304 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
1	Stater	Athena	Nike	
2	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	
3	"	"	"	"
4	"	"	"	"
5	"	"	"	" K
6	Æ Double	Athena	Bull	
7	" Unit	"	"	"
8	" Double	"	"	Anchor,

Series I, Group B, c. 304–303 B. C.

9	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	in wreath,
10	Stater	Athena	Nike (ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ)	" " " K
11	"	"	" (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ)	" " " "
12	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	" " " "

Series I, Group C, c. 303–302 B. C.

13	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus w. Nike.	K
14	"	"	" " "	BE
15	Æ Double	Athena	Elephant	B
15A	" Unit	"	"	" "
16	" "	"	"	B
17	" Double	"	"	P
18	" "	"	"	

Series I, Group D, c. 302–301 B. C.

19	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus w. Nike	No Σ
20	½ dr.	"	" " "	" "
21	Obol	"	" " "	" "
22	4dr.	"	" " "	(or)
23	"	"	" " "	No
24	"	"	" " eagle	"
25	"	"	" " "	
26	"	"	" " Nike	A

Series I, Group E, c. 301–300 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*	
		Obv.	*Rev.*		
27	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus w. Nike		M
28	"	"	" " "	M	

Series II, Group A, c. 300–299 B. C.

29	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	B	ΔI

Series II, Group B, c. 299–298 B. C.

30	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		ΠΣ
31	"	"	" " "		Π–Σ
32	"	"	" " "		Π, (?)
33	"	"	" " "		Σ
34	"	"	" " "		Π
35	"	"	" " "		(?)Σ
36	"	"	" " "		(?) Σ

Series II, Group C, c. 298–297 B. C.

37	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	Σ/	
38	"	"	" " "		Δ

Series II, Group D, c. 297–296 B. C.

39	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		ΔN
40	"	"	" " "	NI, "	
41	"	"	" " "		NΔ
42	Dr.	Heracles	Zeus seated	Anchor	NΔ

Series II, Group E, c. 296–295 B. C.

43	Stater	Athena	Nike	/	
44	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		
45	Æ Quadr.	Horse's head	Anchor		
46	Æ Unit	" "	"		"

Series II, Group F, c. 295–294 B. C.

47	Stater	Athena	Nike		
48	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		
48A	"	"	" " "		
49	"	"	" " "		" "
50	"	"	" " "		
51	"	"	" " "		"
51A	"	"	" " "		IΣ

Series II, Group G, c. 294–293 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
52	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	
53	"	"	" " "	" " (?)
54	"	"	" " "	

Series II, Group H, c. 293–292 B. C.

55	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	
56	"	"	" " "	"
57	"	"	" " "	
58	Obol	Tripod	Anchor	
59	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	" 
60	Obol	Tripod	Anchor	
61	"	"	Bow and quiver	 "

Series II, Group I, c. 292–291 B. C.

62	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		
63	"	"	" " "		
64	"	"	" " "		
65	"	"	" " "	"	
66	"	"	" " "		(?)

Series II, Group J, c. 291–290 B. C.

67	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	

Series II, Group K, c. 290–289 B. C.

68	Stater	Athena	Nike		
69	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		
70	Dr.	"	" " "		"
71	4dr.	"	" " "		
71A	Dr.	"	" " "		
72	"	"	" " "		"
73	"	"	" " "		" (?)

Series II, Group L, c. 289–288 B. C.

74	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		
75	"	"	" " "		
76	"	"	" " "		
77	Dr.	"	" " "	"	"
78	4dr.	"	" " "		
79	"	"	" " "		" 
80	Dr.	"	" " "		" "

Series II, Group M, c. 288–287 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
81	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	Ⱥ ⊙
82	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
83	½ dr.	"	" " biga	" "
84	4dr.	"	" " quadriga	⊙ Ⱥ
85	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
86	½ dr.	"	" " biga	" "
87	4dr.	"	" " quadriga	" ⊙
88	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
89	"	"	" " "	⊙ Ⱥ
90	"	"	" " "	⊙
91	"	"	" " "	No letters.

Series II, Group N, c. 287–286 B. C.

92	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	Ⱥ ⊙
93	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
94	"	"	" " "	" "
95	4dr.	"	" " "	Ⱥ/⊙
96	Dr.	"	" " "	Ⱥ ⊙
97	"	"	" " "	⊙, ,
98	½ dr.	"	" " biga	⊙ Ⱥ
99	Obol	Heracles	Zeus	Ⱥ ⊙

Series II, Group O, c. 286–285 B. C.

100	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	☆–⊙
101	"	"	" " "	☆⊙
102	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
103	"	"	" " "	⊙ ☆
104	"	"	" " "	☆ ⊙
105	Æ Double	Apollo	Bull	⊙☆
106	" Unit	"	"	☆⊙
107	" Quadr.	"	"	⊙ ⋔
108	" Double	"	"	" "
108A	" "	"	" Anchor	? ?
109	" Quarter	"	"	? ?

Series II, Group P, c. 285–284 B. C.

110	Stater	Athena	Nike	⊙/⋔
111	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	⋔ ⊙
112	"	"	" " "	" "
113	"	"	" " "	? "

Series II, Group Q, c. 284–283 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
114	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	⊙
115	Dr.	"	" " "	⊙
116	½ dr.	"	" " biga	⊙
117	Æ Quadr.	Medusa	Bull	" "
118	" Double	"	"	" "
119	" Unit	"	"	" "

Series II, Group R, c. 283–282 B. C.

120	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	⊙

Series II, Group S, c. 282–281 B. C.

121	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	(?)
121A	Stater	Athena	Nike	⊙
122	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	" ⊙
123	"	"	" " "	" "
124	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
125	"	Heracles	Zeus	⊙/
126	"	"	"	⊙/
127	"	"	"	⊙
128	"	"	"	
129	"	"	"	" "
130	"	"	"	" "
131	½ dr.	"	"	⊙,

Series II, Group T, c. 281–280 B. C.

132	Dr.	Heracles	Zeus	⊙,
133	½ dr.	"	"	⊙

ANTIOCHUS I, 280–261 B. C.

Series I, c. 280–278 B. C.

134	Dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	Δ
135	"	"	" " "	
136	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	
137	"	"	"	"
138	"	"	"	
139	"	"	"	"

Series II, Group A, c. 278–274 B. C.

140	4dr.	Antiochus I (young)	Apollo (2 arrows)		
141	"	" (older)	" (2 ")	"	"
142	"	" (old)	" (2 ")	"	"
143	"	" "	" (1 arrow)	"	"
144	Dr.	"	" (1 ")	"	"

Series II, Group A, c. 278–274 B. C.—*Continued*

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
145	Æ Quadr.	Apollo	Athena	⊢P, 🜂
146	" Double	"	"	" "
147	" Unit	"	"	" "

Series II, Group B, c. 274–270 B. C.

148	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	🜁 ⊢P
149	"	"	"	🜁 "
150	Dr.	"	"	" "
151	Æ Unit	Apollo	Athena	⊢P, 🜁
152	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	🜁 ⋔
153	Æ Unit	Apollo	Athena	⋔ (= ⋔?)

Series II, Group C, c. 270–267 B. C.

154	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	🜁 ⊗
155	"	"	"	🜁 "
156	Æ Unit	Apollo	Athena	⋲ "
157	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	🜁 ⍟
158	Dr.	"	"	" "

Series III, Group A, c. 267–265 B. C.

159	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	⋈ ⋈
160	"	"	"	" ⍟
161	Æ Unit	Apollo (¾ r.)	Nike & Trophy	⋈ (?)

Series III, Group B, c. 265–264 B. C.

162	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	⋈ ⍟
163	Æ Double	Apollo (¾ r.)	Nike & Trophy	" 🜂
164	" Unit	"	" "	" "
165	" Half	"	" "	" "

Series III, Group C, c. 264–263 B. C.

166	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	⋈ ⍟
167	Æ Double	Apollo (¾ r.)	Nike & Trophy	⍟ 🜂
168	" Unit	"	" "	" "
169	" Half	"	" "	" "

Series III, Group D, c. 263–261 B. C.

170	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	⋈ ⊗
171	Dr.	"	"	" "
172	Æ Double	Apollo (¾ r.)	Nike & Trophy	⍜ ⋹
173	" Unit	"	" "	" "

Series III, Group D, c. 263–261 B. C.—*Continued*

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
174	Æ Double	Athena	Apollo	
175	" Unit	"	"	"
176	" Half	"	"	"
177	4dr.	Antiochus I	"	

ANTIOCHUS II, 261–246 B. C.

Series I, c. 261–256 B. C.

178	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	
179	"	"	"	"
180	"	"	"	"
181	"	"	"	"
182	Æ Quadr.	Apollo (¾ l.)	Apollo standing	
183	" Double	" "	" "	"
184	" Unit	" "	" "	"
185	" "	" r.	" seated	"

Series II, c. 256–255 B. C.

186	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	

Series III, c. 255–246 B. C.

187	Stater	Antiochus I	Apollo		
188	4dr.	"	"	"	
189	"	"	"	"	
190	"	"	"	"	
191	"	"	"	"	
192	Æ Double	Apollo r.	Athena	"	
193	" Unit	"	"	"	"
194	" Half	"	"	"	"
195	" Double	Athena (¾ l.)	Apollo seated	"	
196	" Unit	" "	" "	"	"
197	" Half	" "	" "	"	"
198	" Unit	" (¾ r.)	" "	?	?
199	" "	Apollo (¾ r.)	Tripod		(?)
200	" Half	" "	"	?	?

SELEUCUS II, 246–226/5 B. C.

Series I, c. 244–240 (?) B. C.

201	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo		
202	Æ Double	Seleucus (¾ l.)	Horseman		
203	" Unit	" "	"	"	"

Series II, c. 240–230 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
204	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	
205	Æ Quadr.	Apollo (¾ l.)	Bull r.	
206	" Double	" "	Bull's head r.	
207	" "	" r.	Bucranium	
208	" "	" (¾ l.)	King & Nike	
209	" Unit	" "	" "	
210	" Half	" "	Tripod	? ?

Series III, c. 230–226 B. C.

211	Æ Triple (?)	Seleucus II	Apollo	
212	" Unit	"	"	" "
213	" Triple (?)	"	"	
214	" Unit	"	"	" "

SELEUCUS III, 226/5–223 B. C.

215	4dr.	Seleucus III	Apollo	
216	"	"	"	
217	"	"	"	"
218	Æ Double	"	"	
219	" Unit	"	"	" "

ANTIOCHUS III, 223–221 B. C.

Series I, c. 223–221 B. C.

220	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	
221	"	"	"	
222	"	"	"	
223	Æ Double	"	"	
224	" Unit	"	"	"

MOLON, 221–220 B. C.

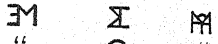
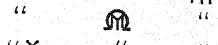
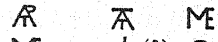
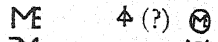
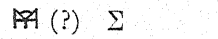
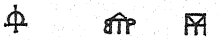
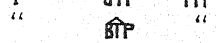
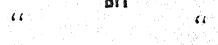
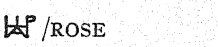
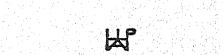
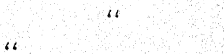
225	Æ Double	Zeus	Apollo	
226	" "	"	"	"
227	" "	"	"	
228	" "	"	"	(?)

ANTIOCHUS III, 220–187 B. C.

Series II, c. 220–215 B. C.

229	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	
230	"	"	"	
231	"	"	"	"

Series II, c. 220–215 B. C.—*Continued*

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
232	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	
233	"	"	"	
234	"	"	"	
235	"	"	"	
236	"	"	"	
237	Æ Double	"	Nike	
238	" Unit	"	"	
239	" Double	"	Serpent	
239A	" "	Apollo	Nike	
		Series III, c. 215–210/9 B. C.		
240	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	
241	"	"	"	
242	Stater	"	"	
243	4dr.	"	"	
244	Æ Unit	Artemis	Apollo r.	
245	" "	Apollo (¾ fac.)	Athena r.	
246	" Double	Artemis(?) "	Apollo seated r.	
247	" Unit	Apollo "	Tyche	
248	" "	" "	Quiver	
		Series IV, c. 209–205 B. C.		
249	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	 /ROSE
250	Æ Unit	Apollo (¾ fac.)	Tripod	
251	" "	Zeus "	Apollo r.	
		Series V, c. 205–203 B. C.		
252	4dr.	Antiochus III	Elephant	
253	Æ Unit	Apollo	"	
		Series VI, c. 203–287 B. C.		
254	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	
255	"	"	"	
256	"	"	"	
257	Æ Unit	Hermes (¾ fac.)	King (?) r.	
258	"	" "	Elephant	
259	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	
260	"	"	"	

BABYLON

Circa 306–281 B. C.

Group A

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
261	Lion Stater	Ba'al	Lion	I, Anchor (on haunch)
262	" "	"	"	" " "

Group B

263	Lion Stater	Ba'al	Lion	Anchor
264	Dr.	"	"	"
265	½ Dr.	"	"	"
266	"	"	" r.	"

Group C

267	Lion Stater	Ba'al and symbol	Lion l.	Anchor
268	" "	" Pellet	"	" Crab
269	" "	" M	"	" Pentalpha

Group D

270	Lion Stater	Ba'al	Lion	Anchor/

Group E

271	Lion Stater	Ba'al	Lion	II Anchor/

Group F

272	Lion Stater	Ba'al	Lion	II Anchor/ Crescent
273	" "	"	"	" " Star
274	" "	"	"	" " Ivy
275	" "	"	"	" " Leaf

Group G

276	Lion Stater	Ba'al	Lion	II Anchor/ Ivy
277	" "	"	"	" " " Star

Group H

278	Lion Stater	Ba'al, Horned horse's head	Lion	Anchor/
279	Didrachm	" Horned horse's head	"	" "
280	Dr.	" Horned horse's head	"	" "
281	½ Dr.	"	"	"
282	Lion Stater	" Horned horse's head	"	" Γ (or M?)

SUSA

SELEUCUS I, 312–280 B. C.

Series I, c. 310–300 B. C.

Group A

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*		*Monograms, etc.*
283	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Wreath, Anchor, Bull's head	ΔI, 
284	"	"	"	Wreath above horned horse's head	" "

Group B

285	Stater	Athena	Nike	EB, Horned horse's head, TI	
286	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Wreath, Shield, Horned horse's head	BE
287	"	"	"	Wreath, Shield, Horned horse's head	BE/TI
288	Dr.	"	"	Wreath, Shield, Horned horse's head	" "
289	½ Dr.	"	"	Wreath, Horned horse's head	" "

Group C

290	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Anchor	
291	Æ Unit	Alexander w. elephant's skin	Anchor		

Group D

292	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Anchor/	Σ/AP
293	"	"	"	"	" "
294	Æ Unit	Alexander w. elephant's skin.	Nike	"	
295	" "	" " " "	"	"	Σ
296	" "	" " " "	"	"	
297	" Half	" " " "	Anchor.	Horned horse's head/AP	

Group E

298	Stater	Athena	Nike	Helios	 AP
299	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	"	M/AP

SERIES II, c. 300–298 B. C.

Group A

300	Dr.	Seleucus I	Nike & Trophy	M, Shield

Group B

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
301	4dr.	Seleucus I	Nike & Trophy	AP, Helios,
302	Dr.	"	" "	" "
303	Stater	Athena	" "	
304	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	AP
305	½dr.	"	"	Helios/ M/ AP
306	Ob.	"	"	" AP/
307	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in biga	AP
308	Dr.	"	" " "	AP Helios
				" " "

Series III, c. 298–281 B. C.

Group A

309	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	
310	"	"	"	"
311	Dr.	"	"	APX
312	4dr.	"	"	"
313	"	"	"	
314	"	Zeus	Athena in biga	(?) AP(X?)

Group B

315	½ dr.	Zeus	Athena in biga	E

Group C

316	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in biga	
317	Dr.	Athena	Elephant's head	
318	Lion stater	Ba'al	Lion	Γ
319	" "	" "	"	Δ
320	" 2ob.	" —	"	
321	" stater	" "	"	A
322	" "	" ?	"	Anchor "
323	Elephant stater	Zeus	Elephant	"

Group D

324	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in biga	M, Bee
325	Ob.	Athena	Elephant's head	M, Bee

Group E

326	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in biga	
327	"	"	" " quadriga	, Bee (?)
328	"	"	" " "	IΣ

Group F

329	Stater	Apollo	Artemis in biga	K
330	Elephant stater	Zeus	Elephant	K

Group G

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
331	Stater	Apollo	Artemis in biga	
332	"	Athena	Nike	
333	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	
334	Æ Quadruple	Heracles	Elephant	
335	" Double	"	"	" "
336	" Unit	"	"	" "
337	Stater	Athena	Elephant's head	? ?
338	4dr.	Zeus	Nike	
339	Dr.	"	Athena in quadriga	Bow
			" " "	

Group H

340	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	Π,
341	Æ Double	Medusa	Bull	,

ANTIOCHUS I, 280–261 B. C.

Series I

342	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) Zeus	APX
343	"	"	" "	"
344	"	"	" "	

Series II

345	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) Zeus	
346	"	"	" "	
347	Stater	Athena	(ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ) Nike	
348	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) Zeus	
349	"	"	" "	"
350	"	"	" "	
351	"	"	" "	
352	"	"	" "	"
353	Stater	Athena	(ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ) Nike	AB
354	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) Zeus	"
355	Æ Unit	Antiochus I	(ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ) Apollo	"
356	" "	Dioscuri facing	" Elephant	

ANTIOCHUS II, 261–246 B. C.

357	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) Zeus	
358	"	"	" "	
359	"	"	" "	
360	"	"	" "	"
361	"	"	" "	"
362	Æ Unit	Antiochus II	(ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ) Athena	(=)
363	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) Zeus	

SELEUCUS II, 246–226 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
364	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) Zeus	
365	"	Seleucus II	" Apollo	
366	"	Heracles	" Zeus	
367	"	Seleucus II	" Apollo	
368	"	Heracles	" Zeus	
369	"	"	" "	
370	Æ Quadruple	Seleucus II	Nike	
371	" Triple	"	Standing Apollo	
372	" Double	"	Artemis	
373	" Double	Bust, ¾ facing	Seated Apollo	?
374	" Unit	" " "	" "	"
375	" "	Apollo	Figure erecting trophy	
376	" "	Apollo & Artemis	Nike	

SELEUCUS III, 226/5–223 B. C.

377	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ) Zeus	
378	Æ Unit	Athena	" Apollo	

ANTIOCHUS III, 223–187 B. C.

Series I, 223–212 B. C.

Group A (223–220)

379	4dr.	Heracles	(ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ) Zeus	
380	"	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	"
381	"	"	" "	
382	Æ Quadruple	" (horned)	" Athena	" "
383	" Unit	" "	" "	" "

Group B (220–212)

384	Stater	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	?,
385	4dr.	"	" "	, "
386	"	"	" "	"
387	"	"	" "	"
388	"	"	" "	"
389	Æ Double	"	Nike	
390	" Unit	"	Seated Apollo	
391	" Double	"	Standing Athena	" (?)

Series II, c. 212–204 B. C.

Group A

392	4dr.	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	or

Group B

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
393	4dr.	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	Rose
394	"	"	" "	"
395	"	"	" "	" AT on
396	"	"	" "	" AT
397	Stater	"	Elephant	AT
398	4dr.	"	Seated Apollo	
399	"	"	" "	" AT
400	Æ Quadruple	"	Artemis	" ΔI
400A	Æ Unit	"	"	"
401	4dr.	"	Seated Apollo	Rose
402	"	"	" "	"
403	"	"	" "	
404	"	"	" "	Rose
405	Æ Double (?)	Head with Kausia	Trophy or herm.	
406	" Unit (?)	Medusa	Prow	
407	" "	Apollo	Artemis	
408	" "	"	Athena-Nike	?
409	" "	"	Apollo & Tripod	?
410	" Quadruple	Head with elephant's skin	Artemis	?
411	" Unit	Head with elephant's skin	"	? and X
412	" "	Zeus-Ammon	Nike in biga	
412A	" "	Apollo	Horse's head	

PERSEPOLIS

SELEUCUS I, c. 300–280 B. C.

Group A

413	4dr.	Seleucus I	Nike and trophy	ΔI
414	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
415	½ dr.	"	" " "	" "
416	Ob.	"	" " "	" "

Group B

417	4dr.	Seleucus I	Nike and trophy	H AX
418	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
419	½ dr.	"	" " "	" "
420	4dr.	"	" " "	M "
421	"	"	" " "	H MI (IM?)

Group C

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
422	4dr.	Seleucus I	Nike and trophy	MI
423	Ob.	"	" " "	" "
424	4dr.	"	" " "	"
425	Dr.	"	" " "	" "
426	4dr.	"	" " "	"
427	Dr.	"	" " "	" "

ECBATANA

SELEUCUS I, 311–280 B. C.

Series I, c. 311–303 B. C.

Group A

428	Stater	Athena	Nike	Feeding horse
429	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	
430	½ dr.	"	"	/Wheat ear, ○ ( )
431	Ob.	"	"	" " "
432	½ ob.	"	Quiver, bow, club	

Group B

433	Stater	Athena	Nike	/Horse.
434	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	"
435	2dr.	"	"	" " "
436	½ dr.	"	"	" "
437	Ob.	"	"	" "

Group C

438	Stater	Athena	Nike	/Horse.
439	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	" " "
440	2dr.	"	"	" " "
441	½ dr.	"	"	" "
442	Ob.	"	"	" "

Group D

443	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	IΣA/Horse.
444	Dr.	"	"	" " "

Group E

445	Stater	Athena	Nike	/ Horse
446	4dr.	Heracles (old st.)	Zeus	" "
447	"	" (new st.)	"	" ( ) "
448	2dr.	"	"	" "

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
449	Dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ⅱ/Horse
450	½ dr.	"	"	" "
451	Ob.	"	"	" "
452	½ ob.	"	Club, quiver, bow	"
		Group F		
453	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ⅱ/Horse. B
454	"	"	"	" " ⋈
455	"	"	"	" ⋈ or ⋈
456	"	"	"	" " ⋈
		Series II, c. 303–293 B. C.		
		Group A		
457	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Horned head of horse. ΔI
458	Dr.	"	"	" " " " "
459	Æ Unit	Alexander	Nike	Ⅱ, " " " "
460	2 Daric	"	"	" " " " "
461	Lion stater	Ba'al. Horned head of horse	Lion	Anchor/ ΔI
462	Lion ½ dr.	Ba'al. Horned head of horse	"	" "
		Group B		
463	Stater	Athena	Nike	Ⅱ/Anchor. ⋈
464	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	" " "
465	2dr.	"	"	" " "
466	Dr.	"	"	" " "
467	½ dr.	"	"	" " "
468	Ob.	"	"	" " "
469	"	"	"	" "
		Group C		
470	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Anchor/ Horse. Ⅱ
471	Ob.	"	"	" O
		Group D		
472	Stater	Athena	Nike	Ⅱ/ΣΩ/ Horse.
473	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	"/ Anchor/ Horse. ΣΩ
474	Dr.	"	"	" " " "
475	4dr.	"	"	" " " "
476	2dr.	"	"	" " " "
477	Dr.	"	"	" " " "
478	½ dr.	"	"	" " " "
479	Ob.	"	"	" " " "

Series III, c. 293–280 B. C.

Group A

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*				*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.		*Rev.*		
480	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ)	Zeus	/ Anchor/ Horse.	ΣΩ
481	Dr.	"	"	Horseman	ΣΩ	
482	½ dr.	"	"	"	"	"
483	"	"	"	Zeus	/ Anchor/ Horse.	ΣΩ

Group B

484	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ)	Zeus	/ Anchor/ Horse.	ΣΩ
485	"	"	(ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ)	"	"	"
486	Ob.	"	"	"	"	"

Group C

487	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ)	Zeus	/ Anchor/ Horse.	
488	Dr.	"	"	"	"	"
489	½ dr.	"	"	"	"	"
490	Ob.	"	"	"	"	"
491	4dr.	"	(ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ)	"	"	"
492	"	"	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ)	"	"	

Group D

493	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ)	Zeus	/ Anchor/ Horse.	
494	½ dr.	"	(ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ)	"	"	"
495	Ob.	"	"	"	"	"
496	4dr.	"	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ)	"	"	
497	"	"	"	"	"	
498	"	"	"	"	"	
499	Stater	Athena	"	Nike	"	
500	4dr.	Heracles	"	Zeus	"	"
501	Æ Unit	Medusa	"	Bull	"	
502	" Half	"	"	"	"	"

Group E

503	4dr.	Heracles	(ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ)	Zeus	/ Anchor	
504	"	"	"	"	BA " Horse.	"
505	½ dr.	"	"	"	" " "	"
506	4dr.	"	"	"	"	"
507	Dr.	"	"	"	" "	"

ANTIOCHUS I, 280–261 B. C.

Series I, c. 280–278 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
508	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	⊼ / Lion Γ
509	Dr.	"	"	" " "
510	4dr.	"	"	Ε / Anchor / Horse "
511	Dr.	"	"	" Lion "
512	4dr.	"	"	⊼ / Anchor / Horse ΙΣ
513	Dr.	"	"	" Lion Γ
514	"	"	"	Δ / " ⊼
515	"	"	"	Elephant ⊼

Series II, c. 278–261 B. C.

Group A

516	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	Ξ / ⊠ / Horse

Group B

517	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	Ξ / ⊠ / Horse
518	"	"	"	" Δ "
519	"	"	"	" ⊓ "
520	Æ Quadruple	"	Standing Apollo	⊠ / Ξ / Ξ / Horse
521	" Triple	"	" "	" " " "
522	" Unit	"	" "	" " " "

Group C

523	Æ Double	Antiochus I	Seated Apollo	Ξ / ⊓ / Horse
524	" Unit	"	" "	" " "
525	" Quarter	Apollo	Lyre	" "
526	" "	"	"	" ⊓ (or ⊓)
527	" "	"	"	" ⊓

Group D

528	4dr.	Apollo	Seated Apollo	Ξ / Δ / Horse
529	"	"	" "	" ⊼ "
530	Dr.	"	" "	" ⊼ "
531	Æ Double	"	" "	" ⊼ "
532	" Unit	"	" "	" " "
533	" Double	"	" "	" ⊼ "
534	" "	"	" "	" ⊼ (or ⊼) Horse
535	" Unit	"	" "	" " (" ") "
536	" Half	"	Tripod	" ⊼
537	" "	"	"	" Δ

ANTIOCHUS II, 261–246 B. C.

Group A

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
538	Æ Double	Antiochus II	Standing Apollo	
539	" Unit	"	Uncertain deity	
540	" Half	Helmet	Tripod	"

Group B

541	4dr.	Antiochus II	Seated Apollo	/ / Horse
542	"	"	" "	" "
543	"	"	" "	" "
544	Æ Unit	" (K)	" "	

SELEUCUS II, 246–226 B. C.

Series I, Group A

545	4dr.	Seleucus II	Seated Apollo	/ / Horse
546	"	"	" "	" "

Group B

547	4dr.	Seleucus II	Seated Apollo	/ / Horse
548	Æ Double	"	Standing Apollo	" Horse's head.
549	" Unit	"	" "	" " " "
550	" Half	"	" "	" " " "

Group C

551	Æ Double	Seleucus II	Elephant	
552	" Unit	"	"	"
553	" Double	"	"	
554	" "	Athena	"	
555	" Unit	"	"	"

Series II

556	4dr.	Seleucus II	Standing Apollo	/ Horse's head.
557	Æ Octuple	Dionysus	Elephant	? "
558	" Quadruple	"	"	(or) "
559	" Double	"	"	"
560	" Unit	"	"	" "

Series III, Group A

561	4dr.	Seleucus II	Standing Apollo	/ Horse's head.
562	2ob.	Horse's head	Bow in case, quiver	H (or)
563	Æ Triple	Bearded head	" " " "	
564	" Double	" "	" " " "	" "
565	" Unit	" "	" " " "	" "

Group B

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
566	Æ Double	Heracles	Standing Apollo	/
567	" Unit	"	" "	" "

Group C

568	Æ Double	Athena	Nike and Tripod	
569	" Unit	"	" " "	" "
570	" Half	"	" " "	" "

SELEUCUS III, 226/5–223 B. C.

571	4dr.	Seleucus III	Seated Apollo	/ Horse's head.
572	Æ Unit	Apollo	Tripod and Horse's head	II or "
573	" Quarter	"	" " " "	

MOLON, 222–220 B. C.

574	Æ Unit (?)	Apollo	Nike	

ANTIOCHUS III, 223–186 B. C.

Series I, c. 220–215 B. C.

Group A

575	4dr.	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	/ Horse's head.
576	Æ Quadruple	"	" "	
577	" Double	"	" "	" "
578	" Unit	"	" "	"

Group B

579	4dr.	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	/ Horse's head.
580	Æ Triple	"	" "	"
581	" Double	"	" "	
582	" "	"	" "	
583	" Unit	"	" "	" "
584	" Triple	"	" "	"

Group C

585	Æ Double	Antiochus III	Nike	
586	" Unit	"	"	" "
587	" Half	"	"	" "

Series II, c. 215–209 B. C.

588	4dr.	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	
589	½ dr.	"	Horse's head	
590	Ob.	"	" "	"

Group A

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
591	Æ Quadruple	Antiochus III	Standing Apollo r.	/ Anchor
592	" Double	"	" "	" "
593	" Unit	"	" "	" "

Group B

594	Æ Octuple	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	/ Elephant's head.
595	" Quadruple	"	" "	" " " "
596	" Triple	"	" "	" " " "
597	" Double	"	" "	" " " "
598	" Unit	"	" "	" " " "

Group C

599	Æ Octuple	Antiochus III	Tripod	
600	" Quadruple	"	"	"
601	" Triple	"	"	"
602	" Double	"	"	"
603	" Unit	"	"	"

Series III, c. 209–205 B. C.

604	4dr.	Antiochus III ΔI.	Seated Apollo	
605	"	" "	" "	ΔI
605A	"	" "	" "	IΔ,
606	"	" "	" "	ΔI,
607	"	" "	" "	" AC
608	"	"	" "	"
609	"	"	" "	" A

Group A

610	Æ Octuple	Antiochus III	Nike	/ Horse's head.
611	" Quadruple	"	"	" " " "
612	" Double	"	"	" " " "
613	" Unit	"	"	" " " "

Group B

614	Æ Octuple	Antiochus III	Horseman	
615	" Quadruple	"	"	"
616	" Double	"	"	"
617	" Unit	"	"	"
617A	" Half	"	"	"

Group C

618	Æ Octuple	Antiochus III	Feeding horse	
619	" Quadruple	"	" "	"
620	" Double	"	" "	"
621	" Unit	"	" "	"

Group D

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
622	Æ Octuple	Antiochus III	Horse and Foal	
623	" Quadruple	"	" " "	"
624	" Double	"	" " " "	"
625	" Unit	"	" " " "	"

Series IV, c. 205–200 B. C.

626	4dr.	Antiochus III	Elephant	
627	"	"	"	IE
628	"	"	"	
629	"	"	"	(?)
630	"	"	"	M
631	Dr.	"	"	

Group A

632	Æ Quadruple	Antiochus III	Tripod and Elephant	or
633	" Double	"	" " "	" "
634	" Unit	"	" " "	" "

Group B

635	Æ Quadruple	Antiochus III	Tripod and Elephant	
636	" Double	"	" " "	"
637	" Unit	"	" " "	"

Series V, c. 200–187 B. C.

638	4dr.	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	/ Horse's head
639	Dr.	"	" "	Uncertain
640	"	"	" "	or
641	"	"	" "	
642	"	"	" "	II
643	"	"	" "	
644	"	"	" "	(?)
645	"	"	" "	
646	"	"	" "	"
647	"	"	" "	"
647A	"	"	" "	"

Group A

648	Æ Quadruple	Antiochus III	Anchor and Elephant	(or or)
649	" Double	"	" " "	"
650	" "	"	" " "	
651	" Unit	"	" " "	"

Group B

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
652	Æ Quadruple	Apollo	Tripod and Elephant	Horse's head
653	" "	"	Anchor and Elephant	Eagle's head, ⊢⊣
654	" Unit	"	" " "	" "

Group C

655	Æ Double	Apollo	Elephant	Σ

Group D

656	Æ Double	Coins perhaps countermarked at Ecbatana

BACTRA

SELEUCUS I, 312–280 B. C.

Series I, Group A

657	4dr.	Zeus ℞	Athena in quadriga	
658	Dr.	" (?)	" " "	⋀⋁ (?)
659	"	"	" " biga	
660	½ dr.	"	" " "	

Group B

661	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	Σ
662	Dr.	"	" " biga	
663	½ dr.	"	" " "	

Series II, c. 285–280 B. C.

664	Dr.	Zeus ℞	Athena in biga	⏢
665	4dr.	"	" " quadriga	⏢
666	Dr.	"	" " biga	"
667	½ dr.	"	" " "	"
668	"	"	Same, but ins. in exergue	"
669	"	"	" " ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΝΤΩΝ only	"
670	Ob.	"	" " ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ only	"
671	"	"	" " no inscription	"
672	4dr.	" E	Athena in quadriga	"
673	Dr.	" ⊓⊓ (?)	" " "	"
674	4dr.	" ⊓	" " "	⏢
675	Dr.	" ?	" " biga	"

ANTIOCHUS I, 280–261 B. C.

Series I, c. 280–268 B. C.

Group A

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*			*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*		
676	Stater	Antiochus I	Horned horse's head		⏢
677	4dr.	"	"	"	⏢
678	Dr.	"	"	"	—
679	"	"	"	"	⏢ (above)
680	"	"	"	"	" (below)
681	½ dr.	"	"	"	" "
682	"	"	"	"	⏢

Group B

683	Stater	Antiochus I	Horned horse's head		ΔI
684	"	"	"	"	⏢
685	Dr.	"	"	"	"
686	4dr.	"	"	"	⏢
687	"	"	"	"	⏢ (above)
688	Dr.	"	"	"	" "
689	4dr.	"	"	"	" (below)
690	Dr.	"	"	"	" "
691	½ dr.	"	"	"	" "

Group C

692	4dr.	Antiochus I	Horned horse's head		B ⏢
693	Dr.	"	"	"	" "
694	4dr.	"	"	"	ABIΔ "

Series II, c. 268–261 B. C.

Group A

695	Stater	Antiochus I	Seated Apollo		⏢ (or o)
696	4dr.	"	"	"	"
697	"	"	"	"	"
698	Dr.	"	"	"	" (or ⏢)
699	Stater	"	"	"	AP / ⏢
700	"	"	"	"	⏢ / AP
701	Dr.	"	"	"	" AP
702	Stater	"	"	"	—

Group B

703	Stater	Antiochus I (old)	Seated Apollo		Δ
704	"	" (younger)	"	"	"
705	4dr.	"	"	"	⏢

ANTIOCHUS II (IN BACTRIA, 261–256 B. C.)

Group A

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
706	Stater	Antiochus II	Seated Apollo	Δ

Group B

a

707	Stater	Antiochus I	Seated Apollo	Star/ ⏃/ Lyre
708	Dr.	"	" "	" "

b

709	Stater	Antiochus II	Seated Apollo	" " Lyre
710	Dr.	"	" "	" "
711	½ dr.	"	" "	

DIODOTUS I, AFTER c. 256 B. C.

Inscribed: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

712	Stater	Antiochus II	Zeus	N
713	"	Diodotus I	"	"
714	4dr.	"	"	"
715	Dr.	"	"	"
716	Æ Double	Hermes	Caducei	
716A	" Unit	"	"	
717	4dr.	Diodotus I	Zeus	⋔
718	"	"	"	" ⊜
719	"	"	"	Σ
720	"	"	"	—
721	Dr.	"	"	Δ̄, ⊬ (?)
722	½ dr.	"	"	"
723	Stater	"	"	Wreath
724	4dr.	"	"	"
725	Dr.	"	"	"
726	"	"	"	" ⌐/ ⋔/ ◹

HECATOMPYLUS or ARTACOANA

ANTIOCHUS I, 280–261 B. C.

727	4dr.	Antiochus I	Seated Apollo	Ⱥ ⍋
728	"	"	" "	⍲/BA
729	"	"	" "	Ⱥ ⍋ A

ANTIOCHUS II, 261–246 B. C.

No.	*Denomination*	*Types*		*Monograms, etc.*
		Obv.	*Rev.*	
730	4dr.	Antiochus I	Seated Apollo	
731	"	"	" "	
732	Dr.	"		

SELEUCUS II, 246–226 B. C.

733	4dr.	Seleucus II	Standing Apollo	?
734	"	"	" "	?
735	"	"	" "	
736	Dr.	"	" "	
737	"	"	" "	
738	"	"	" "	
739	"	"	" "	
740	"	"	" "	
741	"	"	" "	
742	4dr.	"	" "	(?)
743	"	"	" "	(?)
744	"	"	" "	
745	Dr.	"	" "	(?)

UNCERTAIN MINTS

SELEUCUS I

746	Dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	IAΔIKI or IΛΔIKI

ANTIOCHUS I

747	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	. / Δ
748	"	"	"	

SELEUCUS I

749	Æ Double	Dioscurus	Forepart of horse	
750	" Unit	" Star and ?	" " "	?
751	Dr.	Horned horse's head	Anchor	
752	"	" " "	"	
753	"	" " "	"	
754	½ dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Grape-cluster

ANTIOCHUS I

755	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	
756	Dr.	"	"	Horned horse's head
757	Ob.	Elephant's head	Horned horse's head	A

ANTIOCHUS I or II

No.	*Denomination*	*Types* *Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Monograms, etc.*
758	Æ Double	Hermes	Standing Apollo	
759	" Unit	"	" "	" "
760	" Double (?)	Male head, ¾ fac. r.	Thunderbolt	

SELEUCUS II

761	Stater	Seleucus II	Apollo and tripod	

ANTIOCHUS III

762	Dr.	Antiochus III	Seated Apollo	?
763	Æ Double	Elephant	Nike	ΠΛ
764	" Unit	" "	"	" "
765	4dr.	Antiochus III	Elephant	

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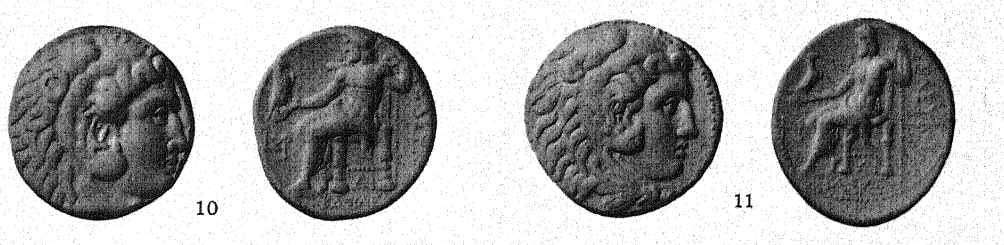
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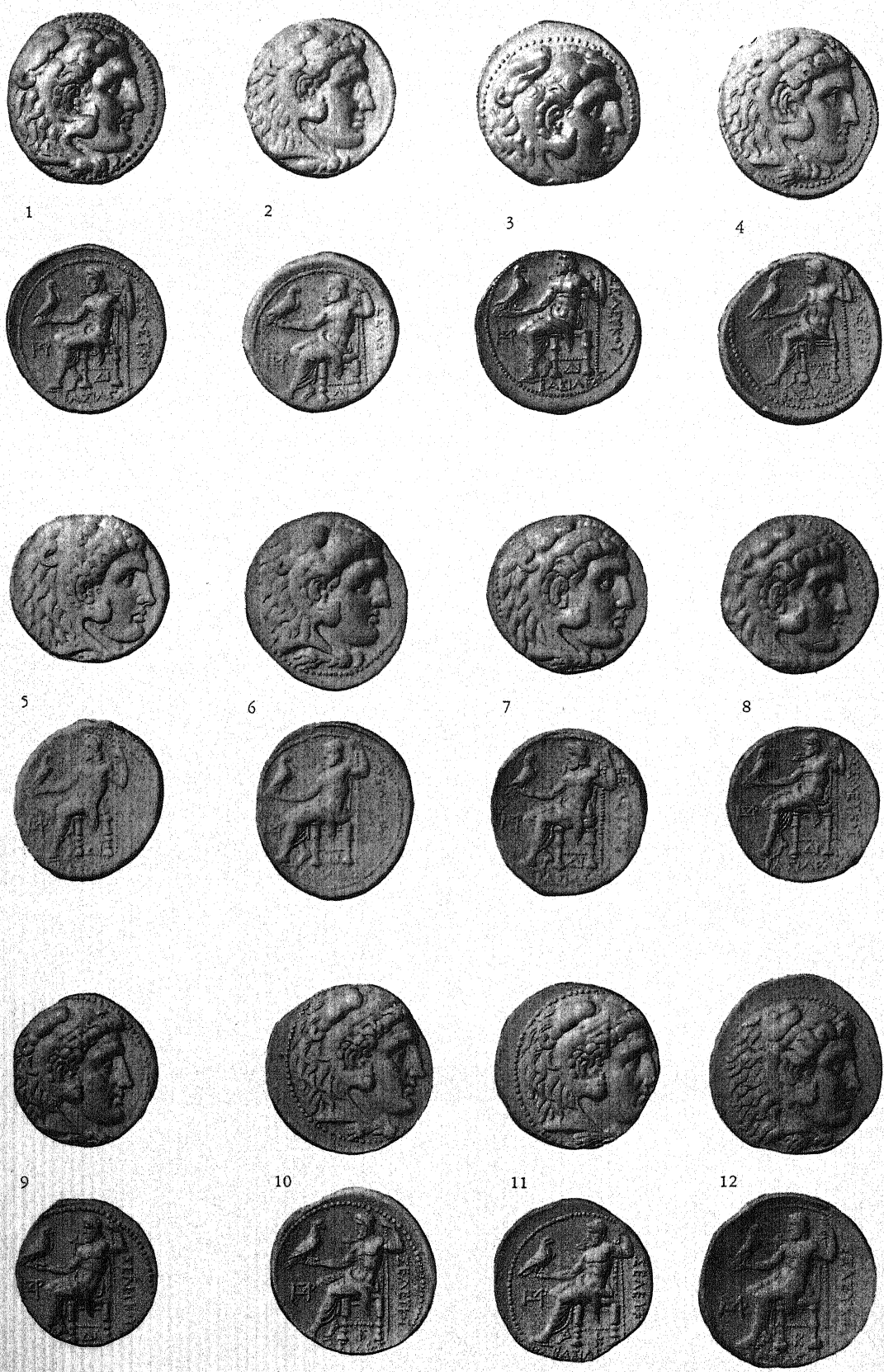

8 9


10 11


12 13 14 15



MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Group A.

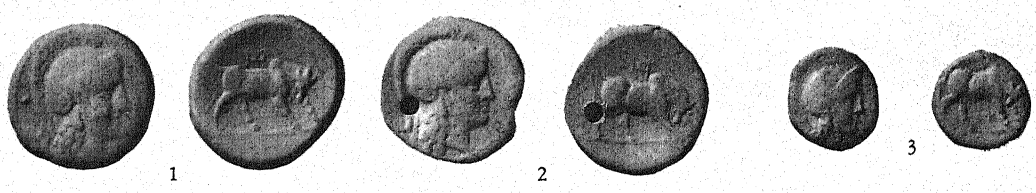


1 2 3 4

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9 10 11 12

MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Group A (cont.).



1 2 3



4 5



6 7 8



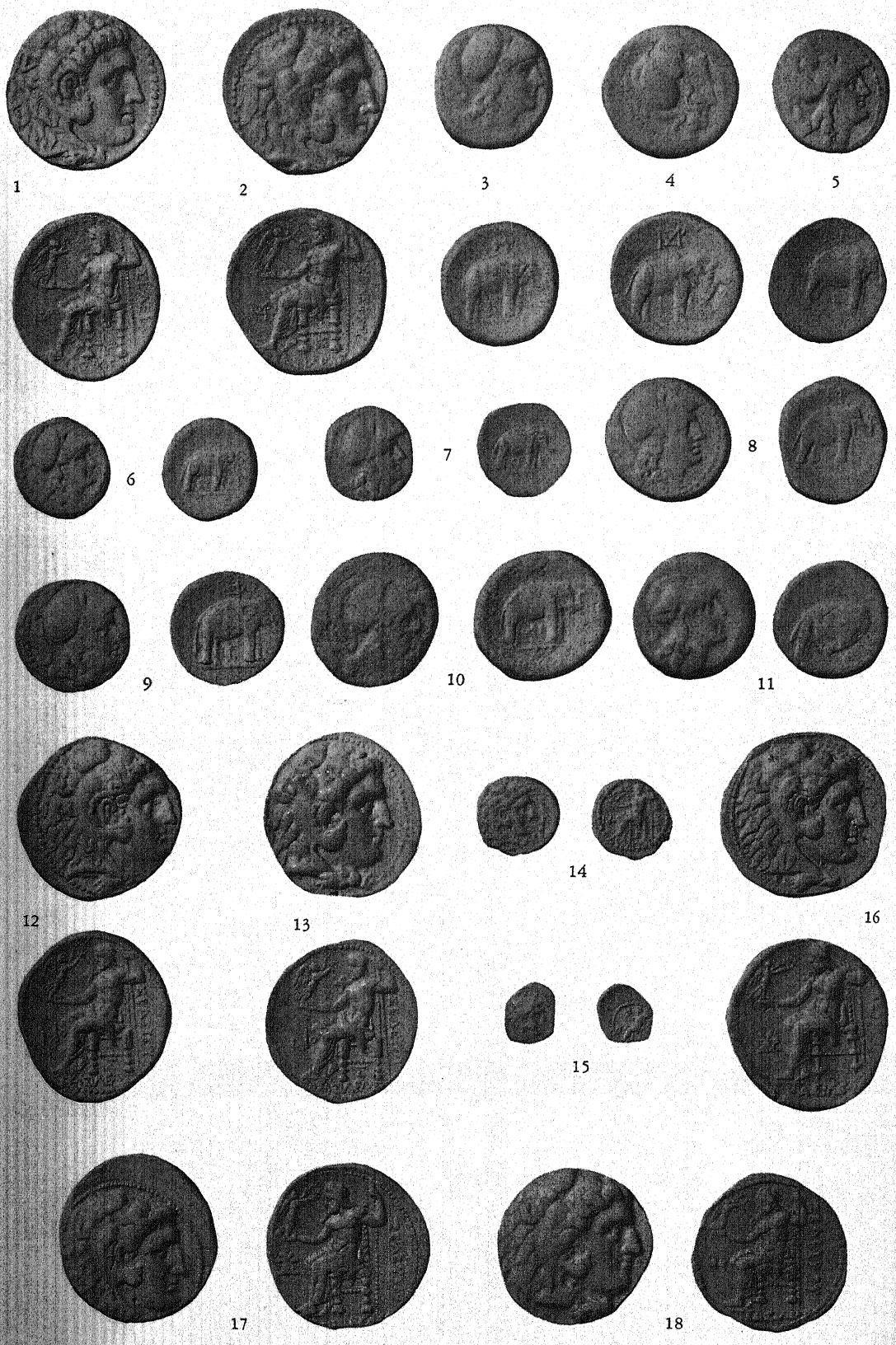
9 10 11 12



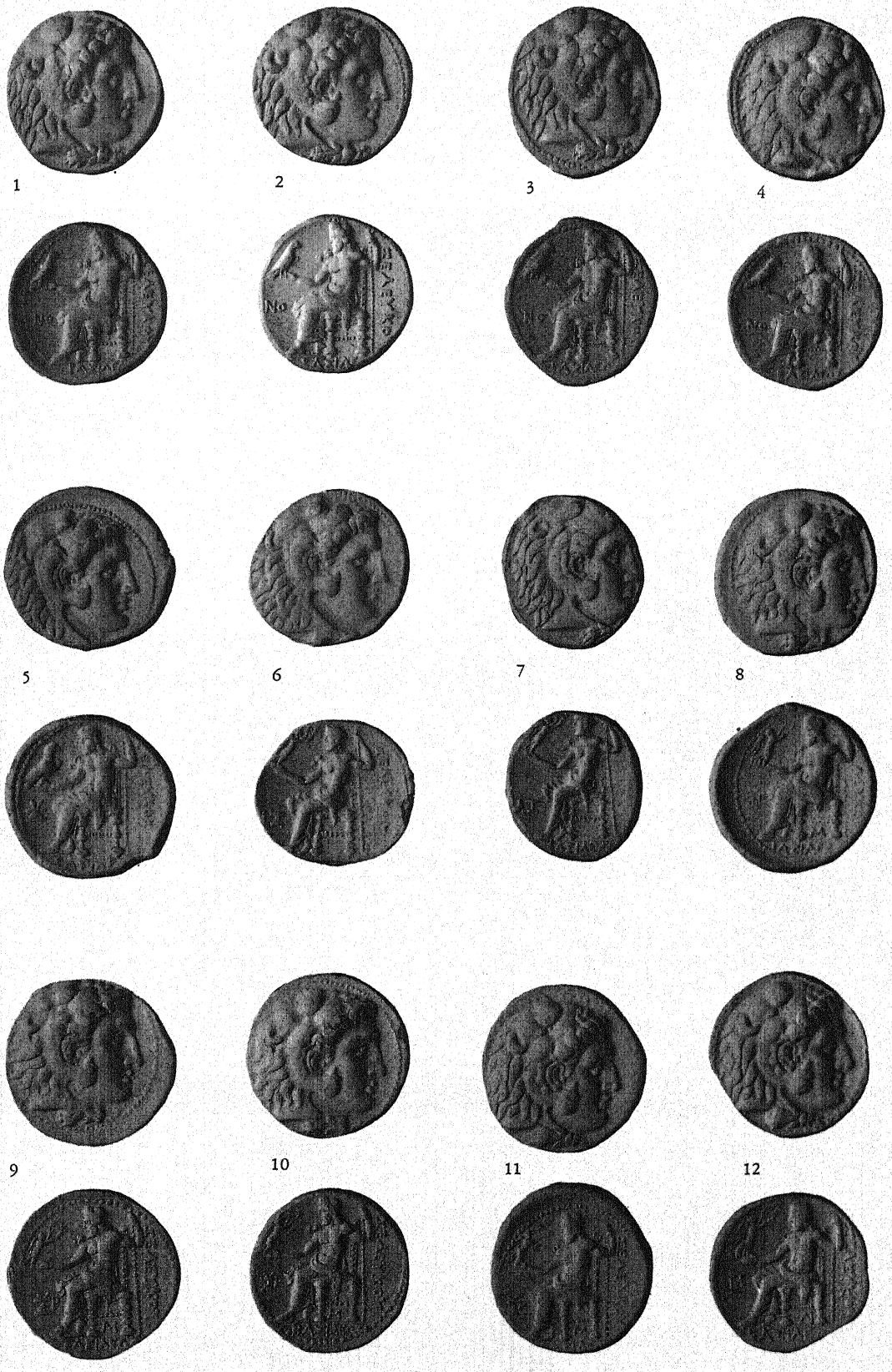


13 14

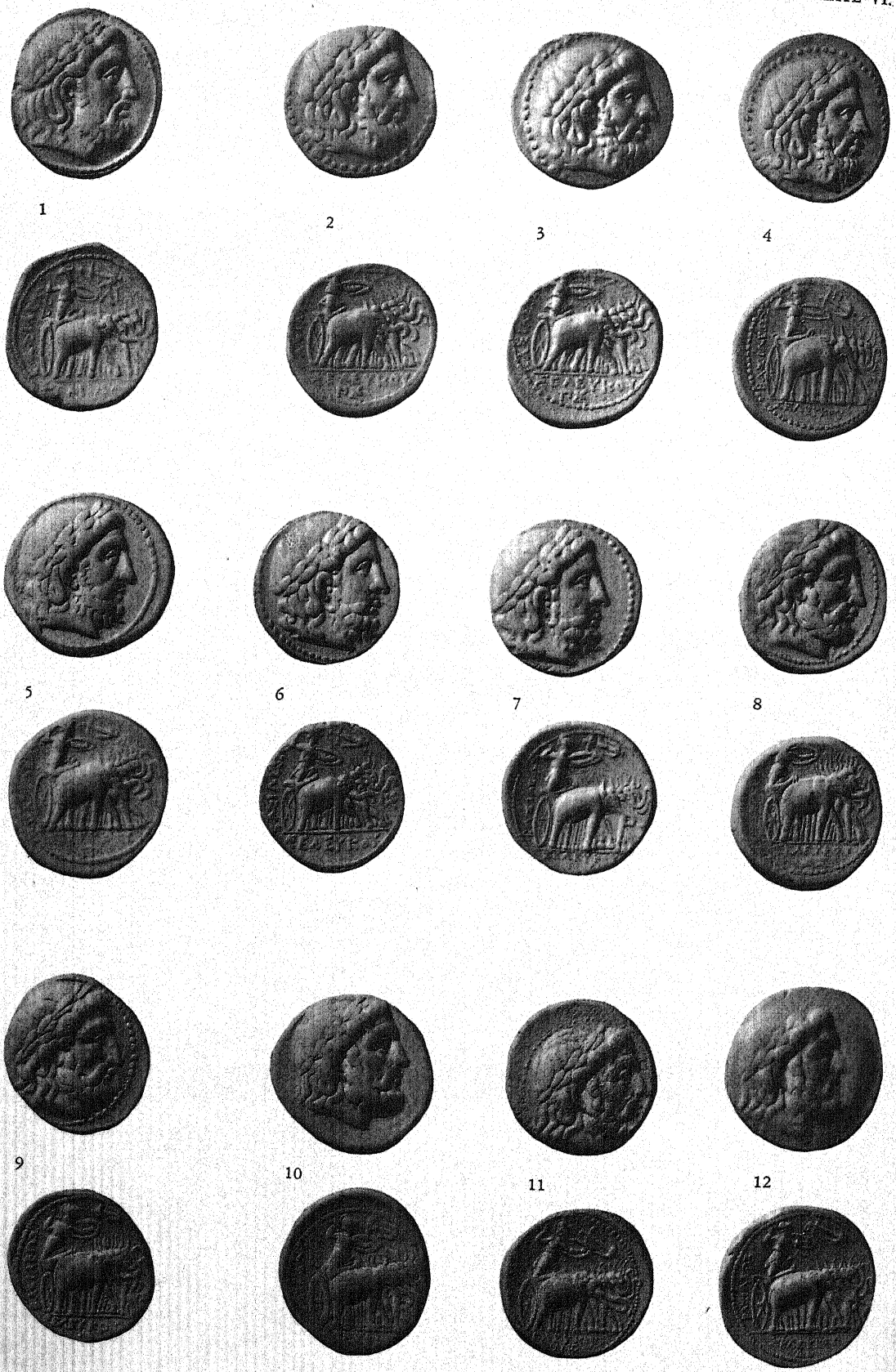
MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Groups A (1-5), B (6-14).



MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Groups C (1-11), D (12-18).



MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Groups D (1-7), E (8-12).

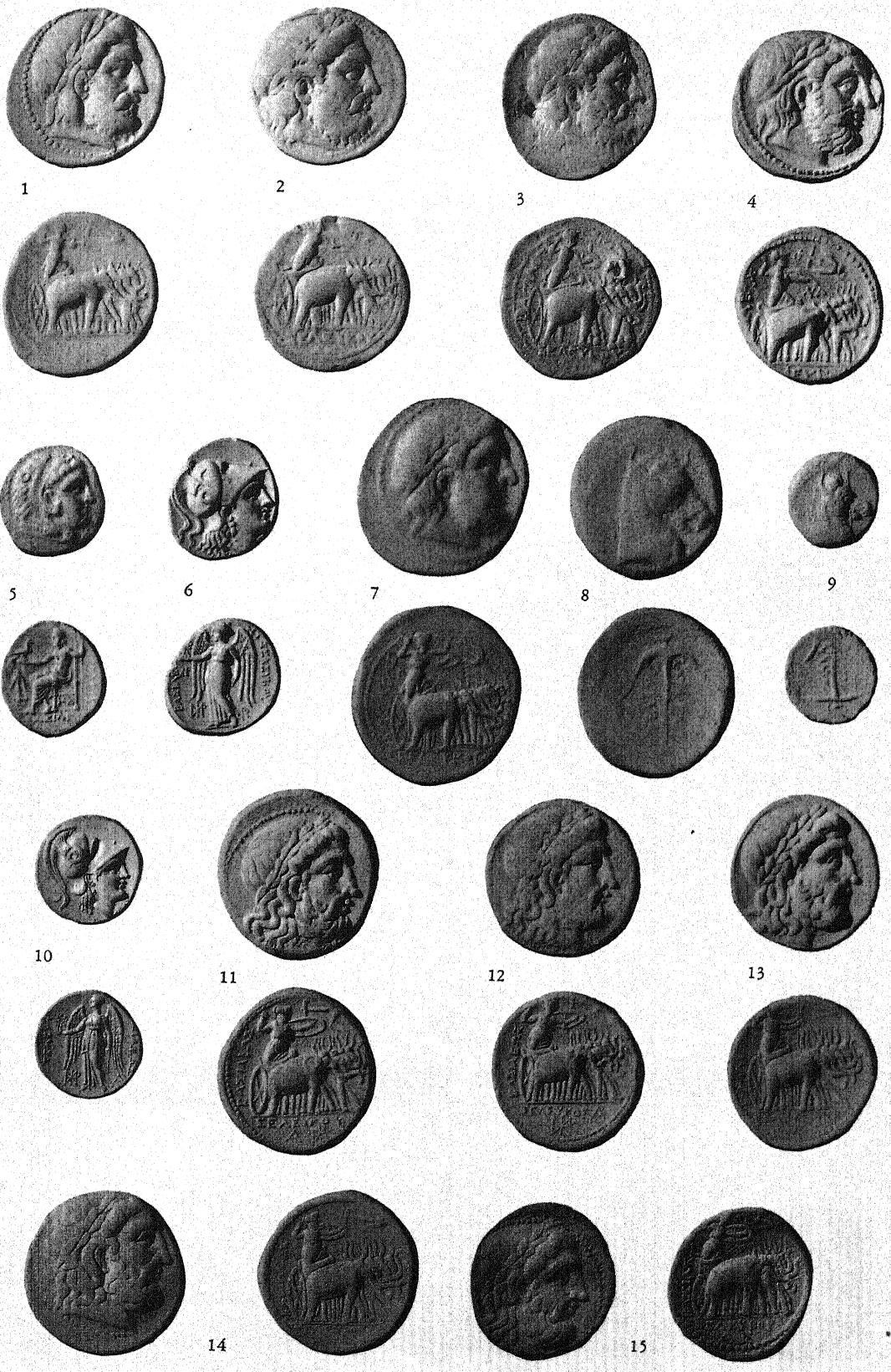


1 2 3 4

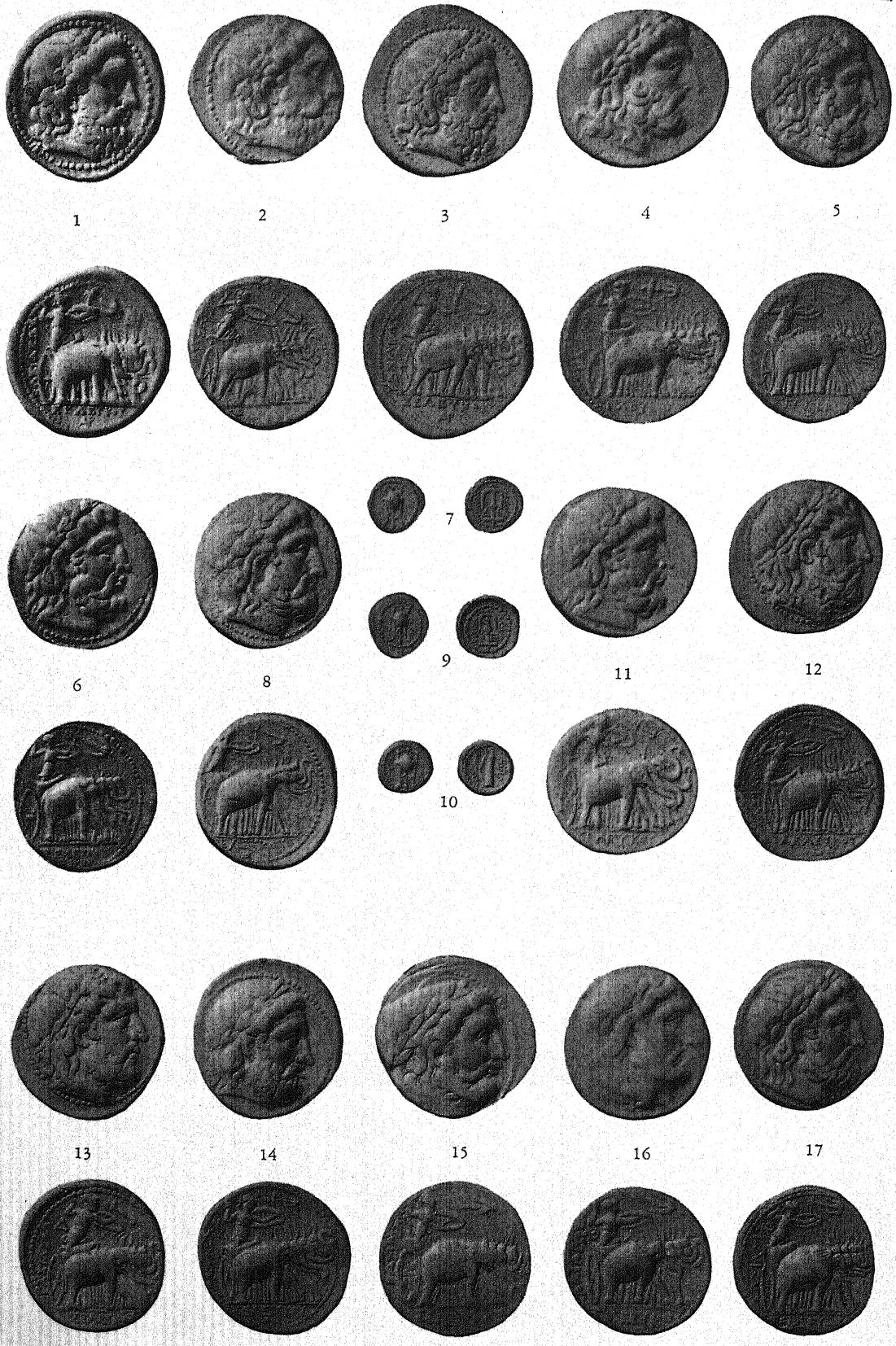
5 6 7 8

9 10 11 12

MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES II, Groups A (1), B (2-9), C (10-11), D (12).



MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES II, Groups D (1-5), E (6-9), F (10-15).



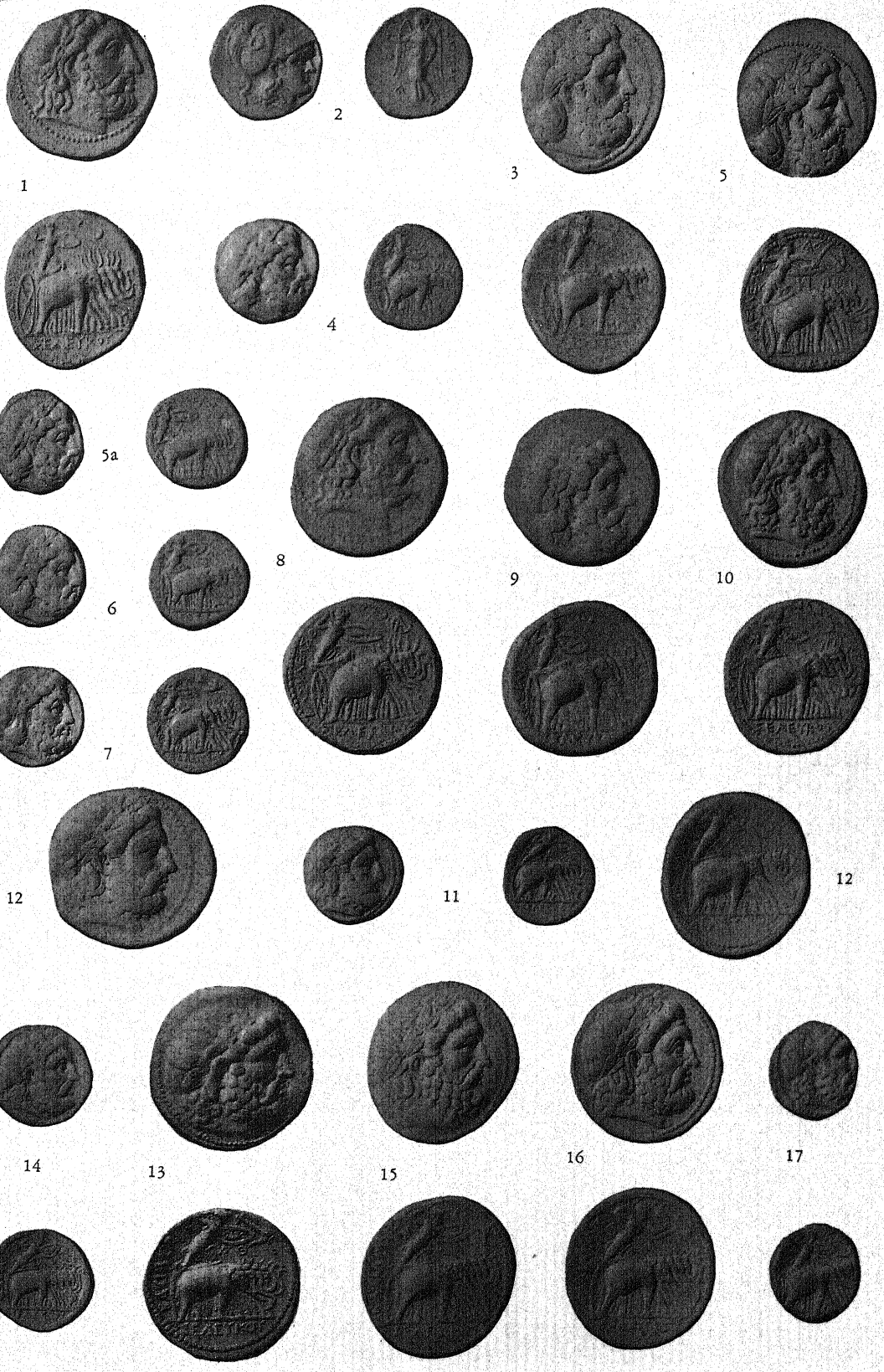
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6 8 7 9 11 12

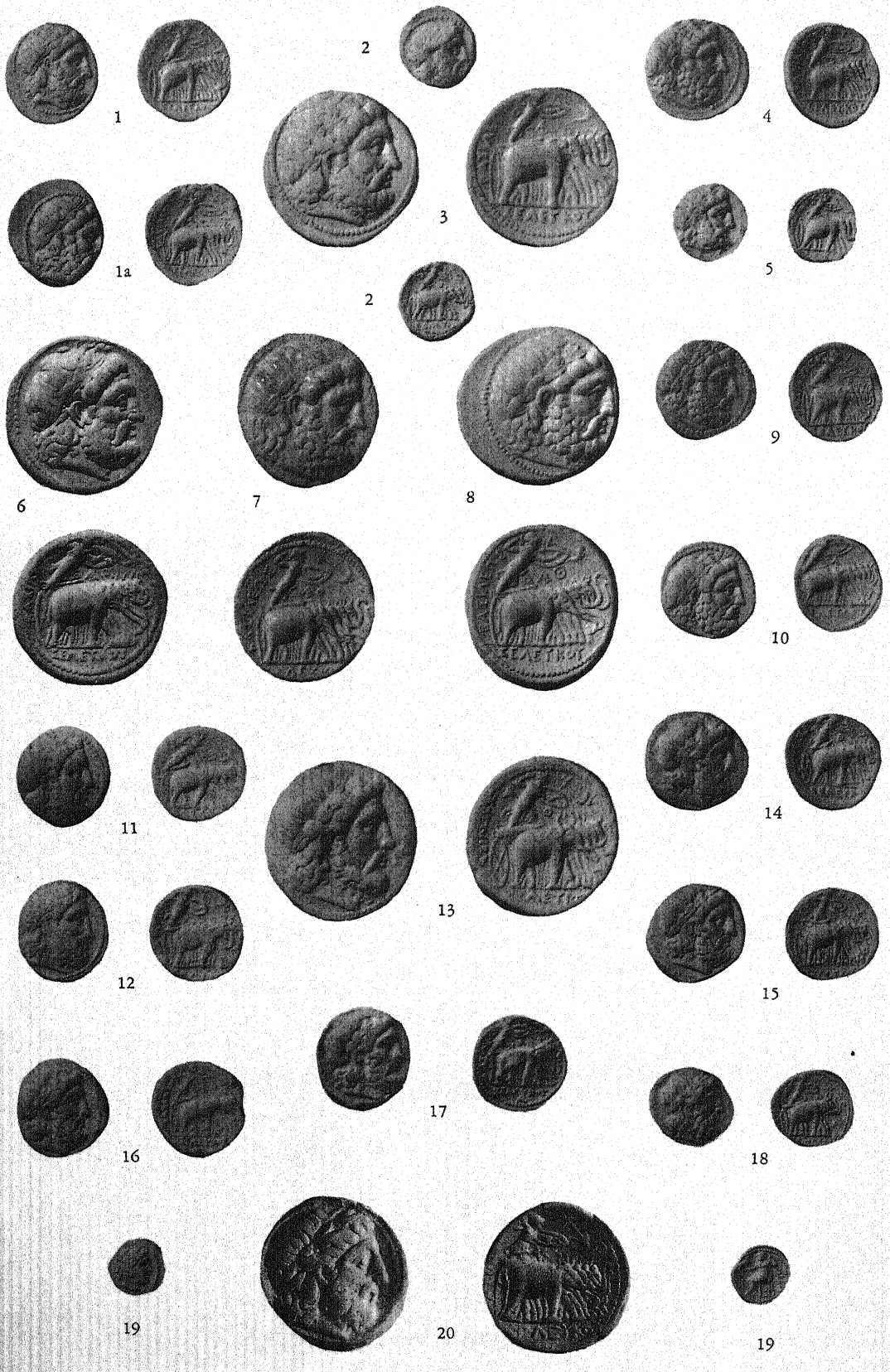
10

13 14 15 16 17

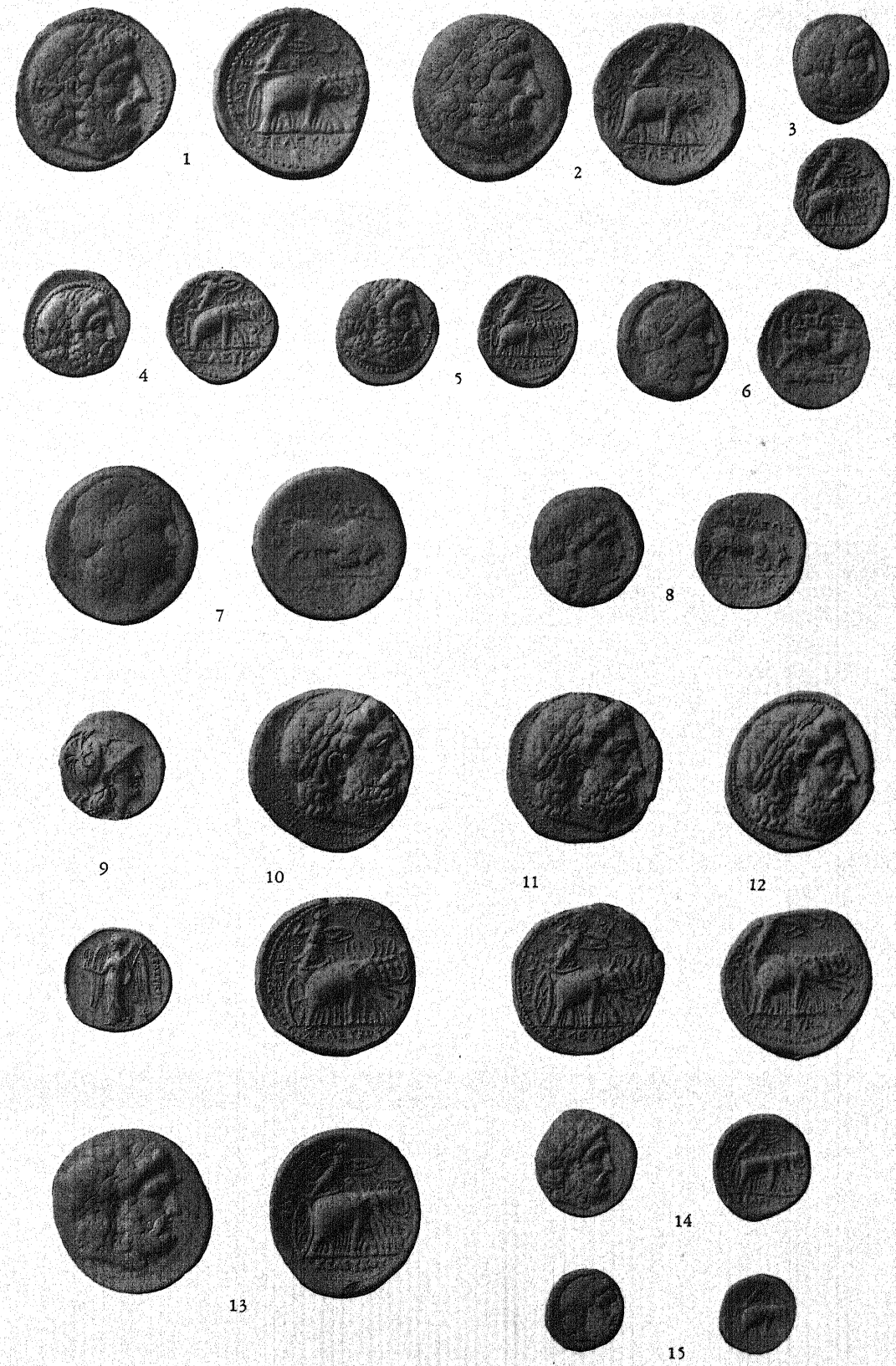
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SERIES II, Groups G (1-3), H (4-10), I (11-17).



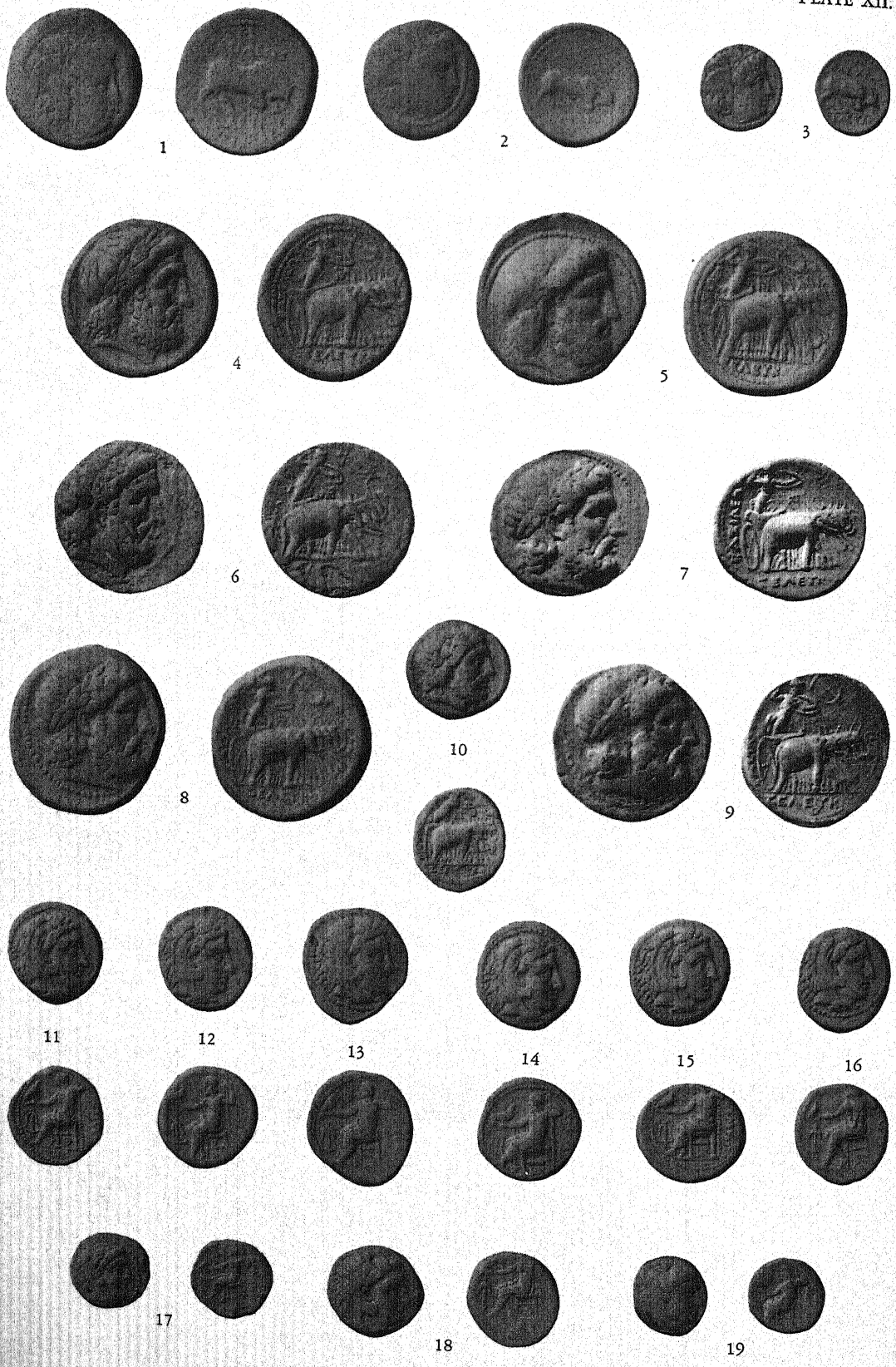
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SERIES II, Groups J (1), K (2-7), L (8-14), M (15-17).



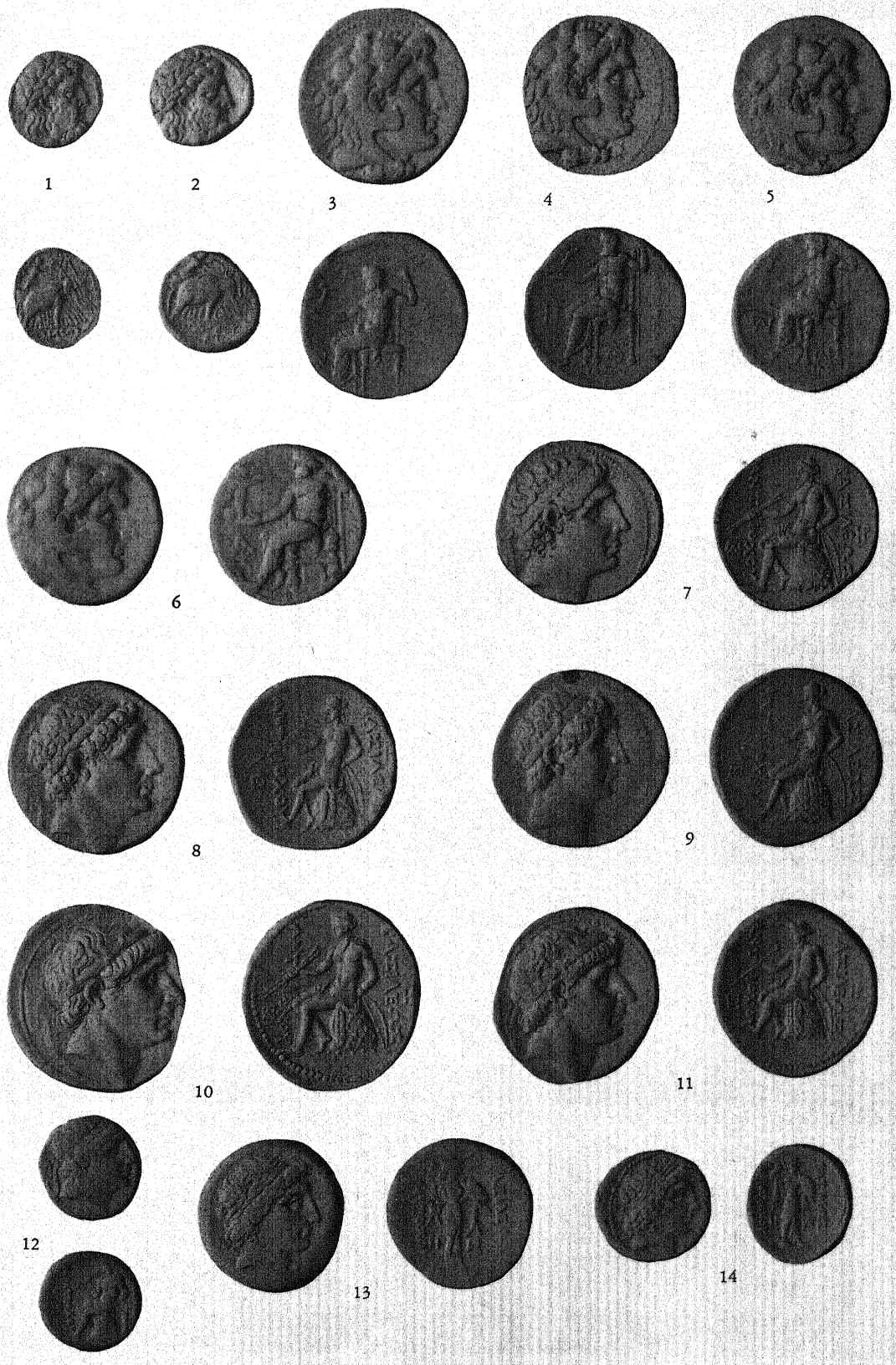
MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES II, Groups M (1-12), N (13-19), O (20).



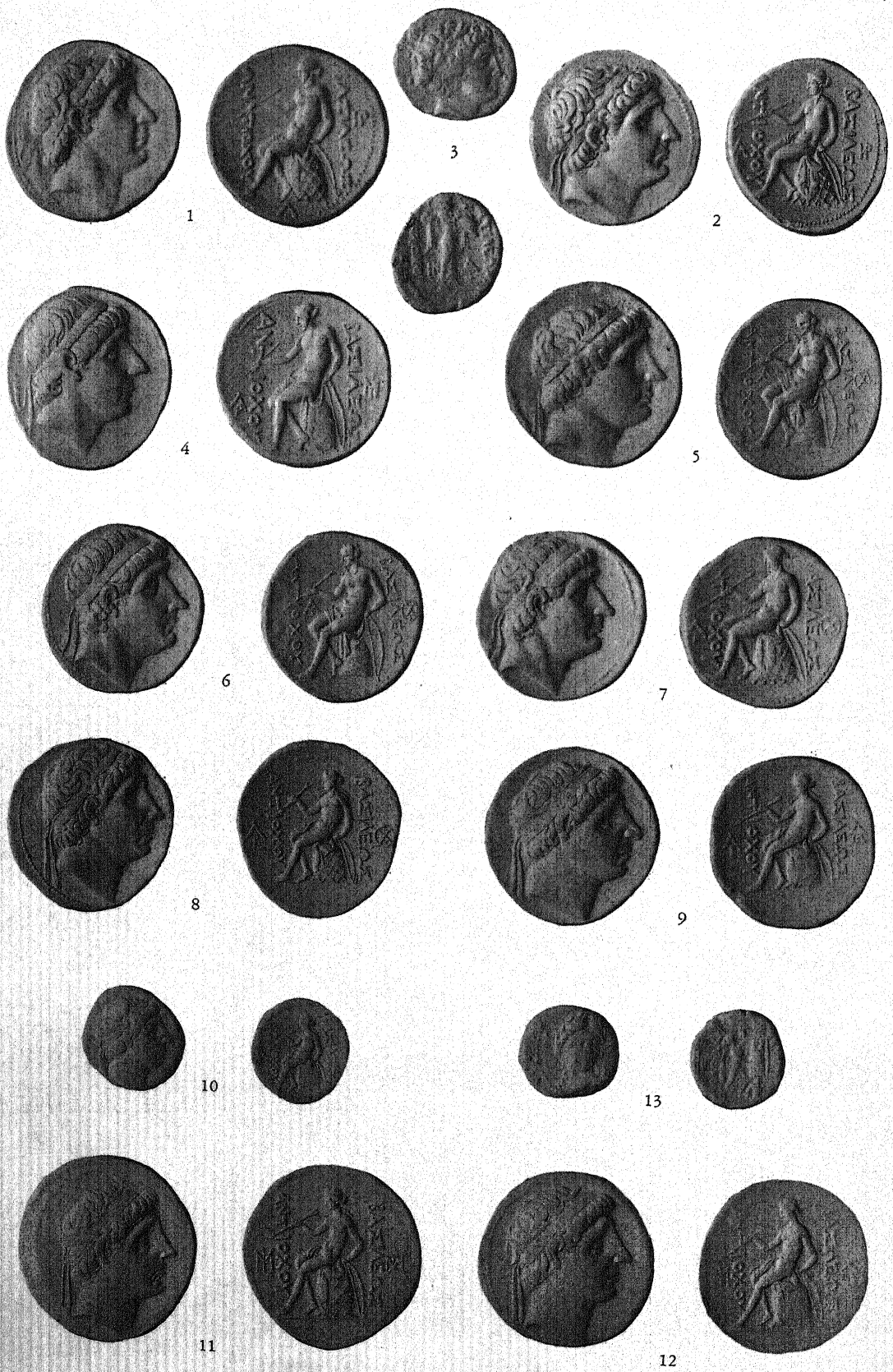
MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES II, Groups O (1-8), P (9-12), Q (13-15).



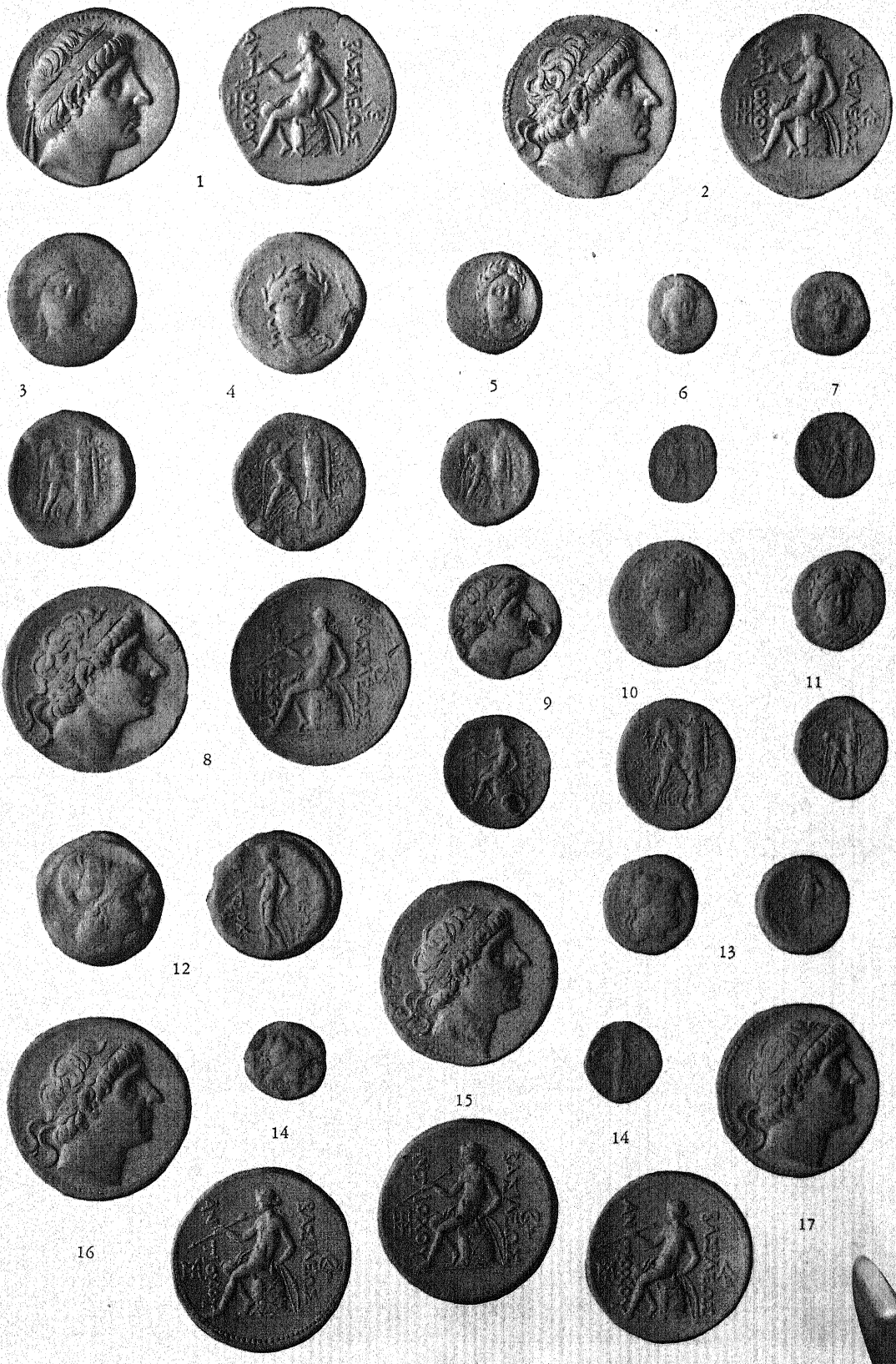
MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES II, Groups Q (1-3), R (4-5), S (6-17), T (18-19).



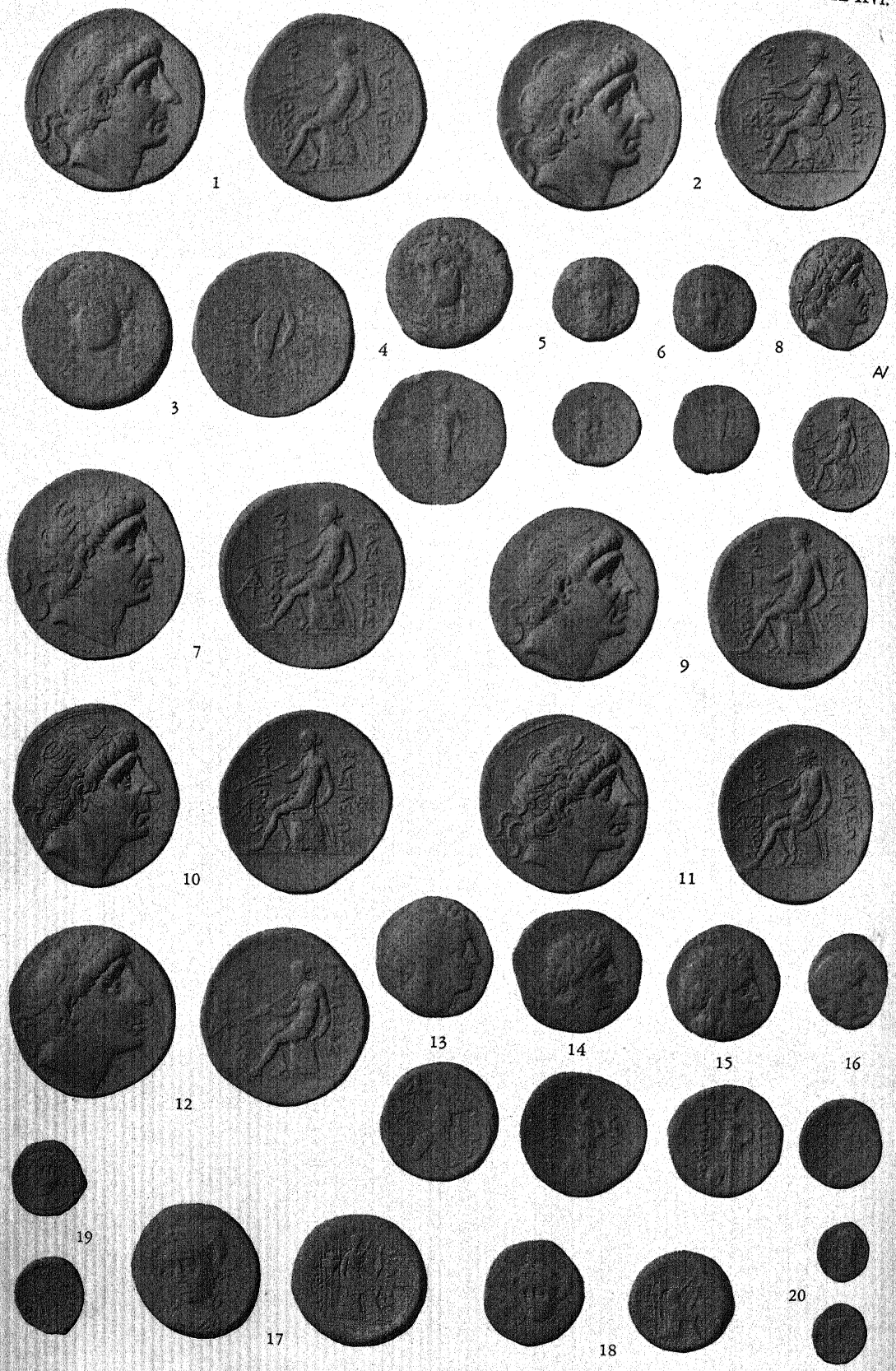
MINT: SELEUCIA. ANTIOCHUS I.
SERIES I, (1-6); SERIES II, Group A (7-14).



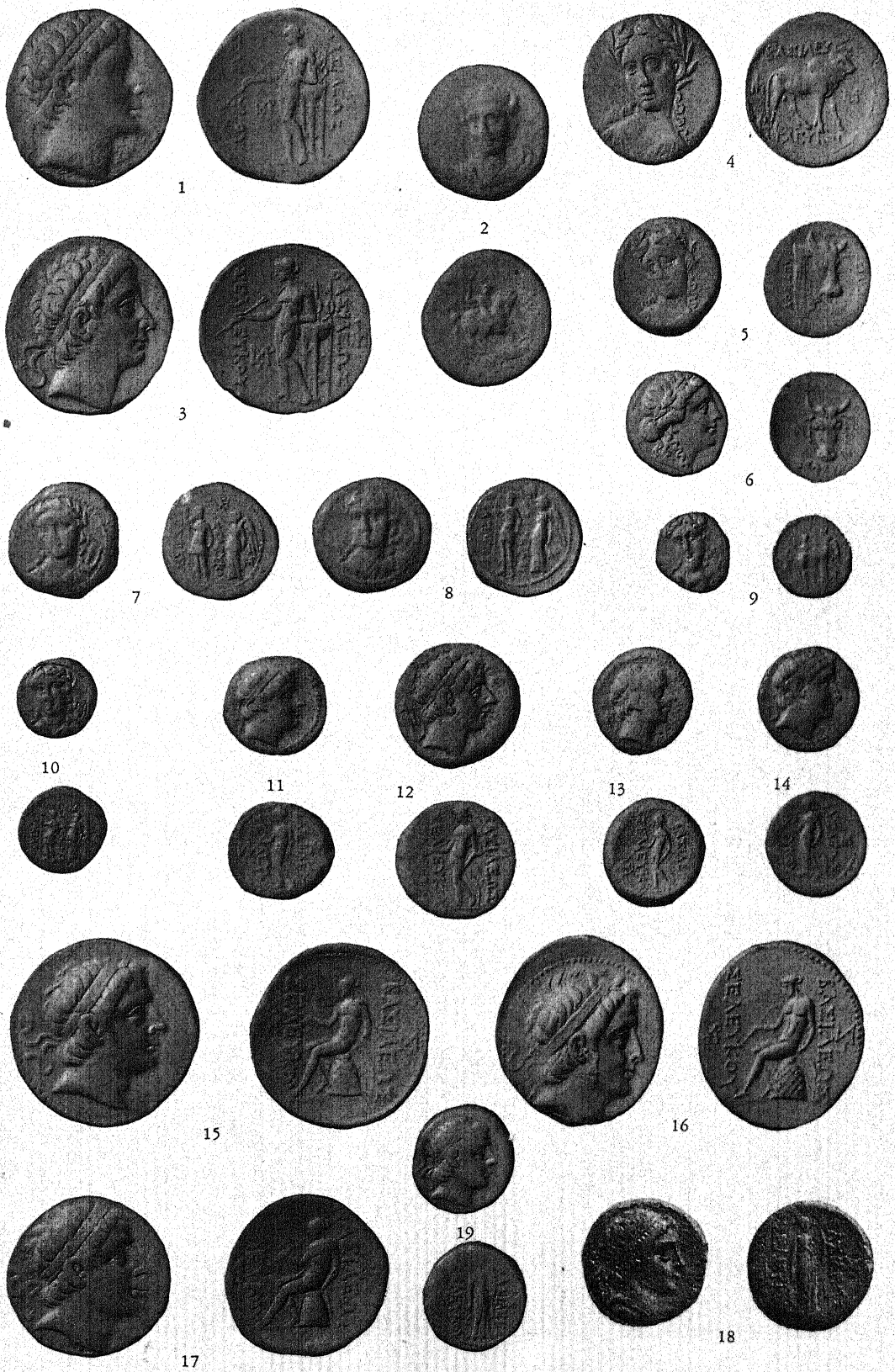
MINT: SELEUCIA. ANTIOCHUS I.
SERIES II, Groups B (1-4), C (5-10); SERIES III, Group A (11-13).



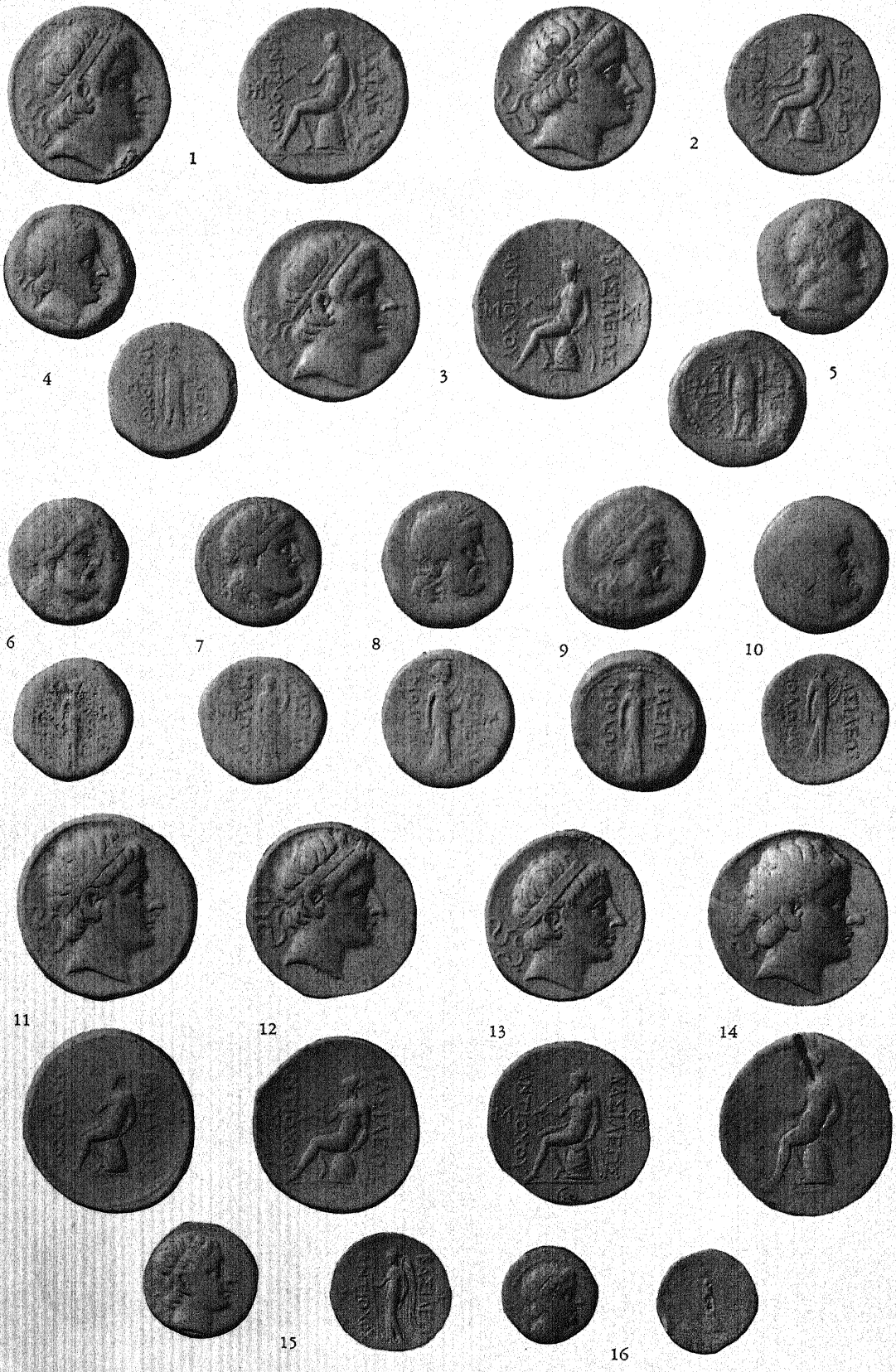
MINT: SELEUCIA. ANTIOCHUS I.
SERIES III, Groups B (1), C (2-7), D (8-15).
ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I, (16-17).



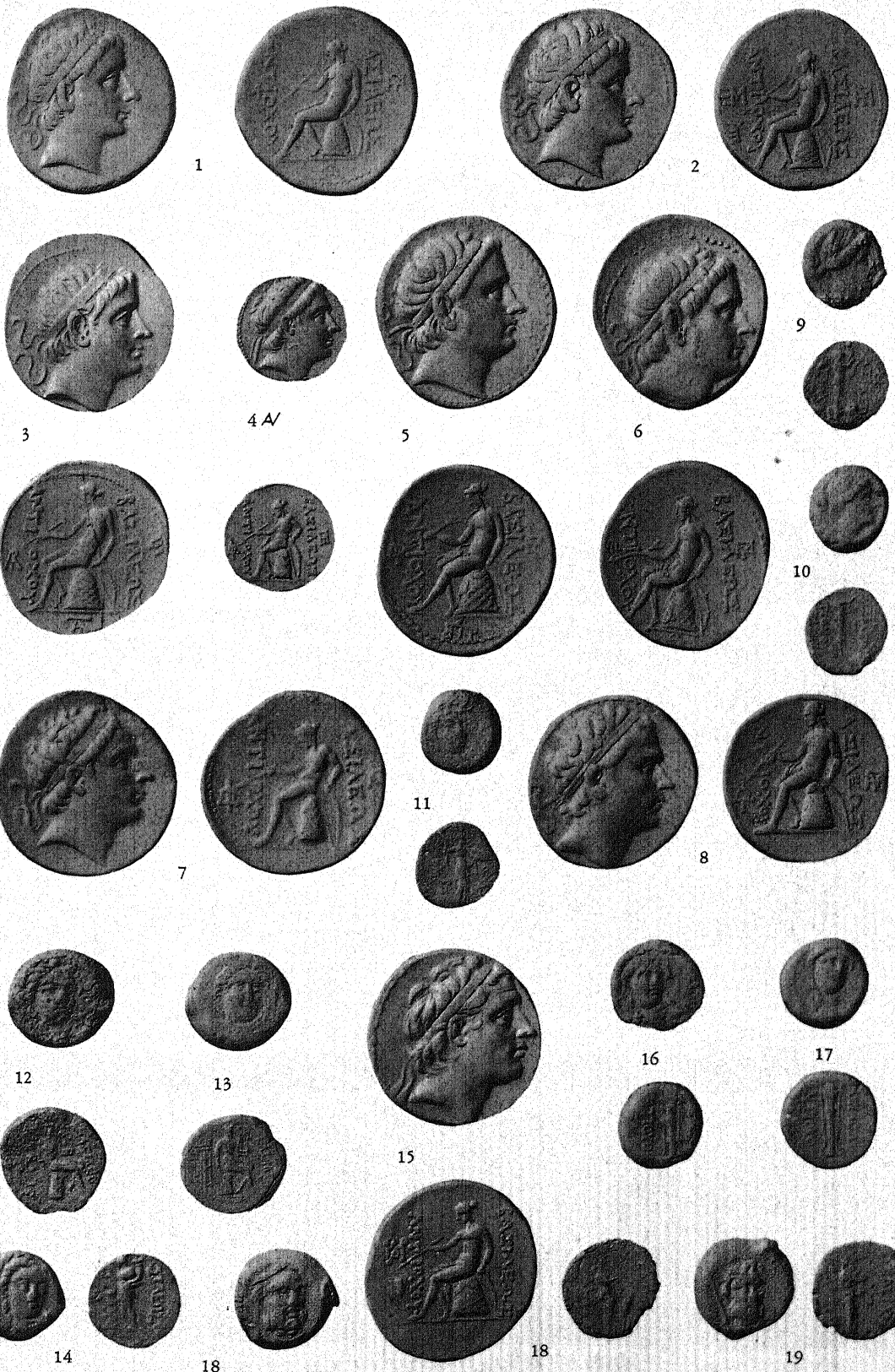
MINT: SELEUCIA. ANTIOCHUS II.
SERIES I, (1-6); SERIES II, (7); SERIES III, (8-20).



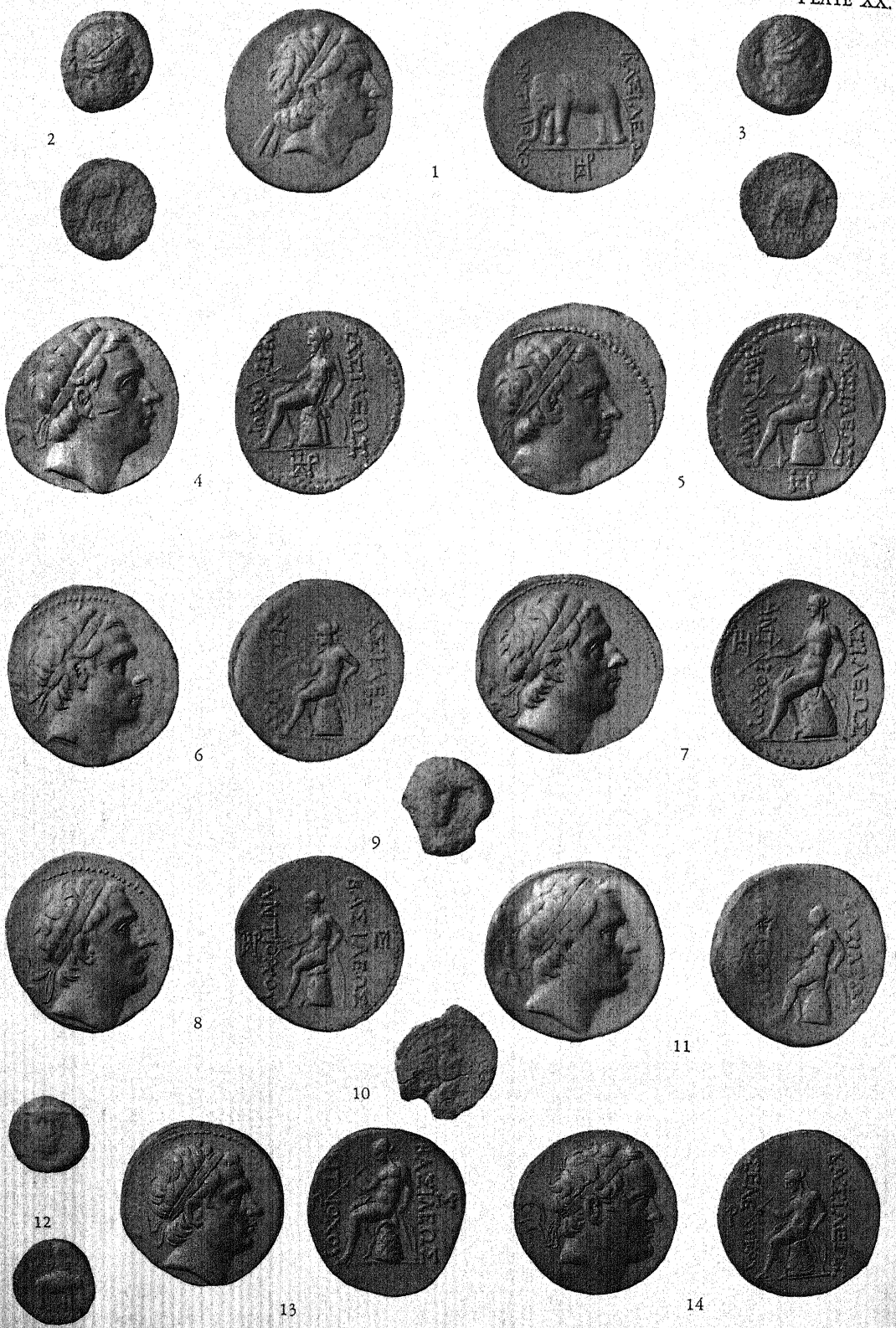
MINT: SELEUCIA. SELEUCUS II.
SERIES I, (1-2); SERIES II, (3-10); SERIES III, (11-14).
SELEUCUS III. (15-19).



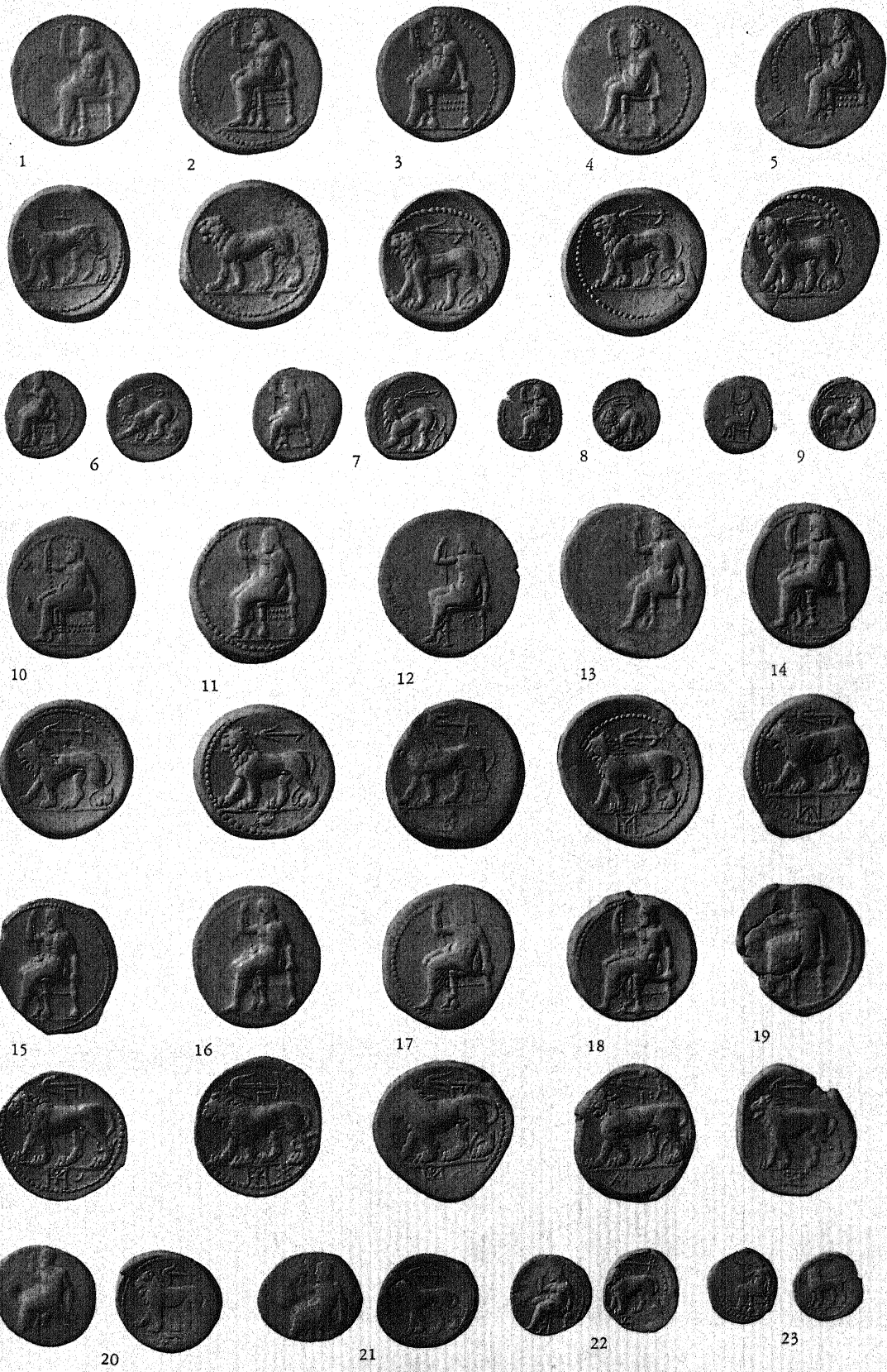
MINT: SELEUCIA. ANTIOCHUS III.
FIRST REIGN, (1-5); MOLON, (6-10).
ANTIOCHUS III. SECOND REIGN, SERIES II, (11-16).



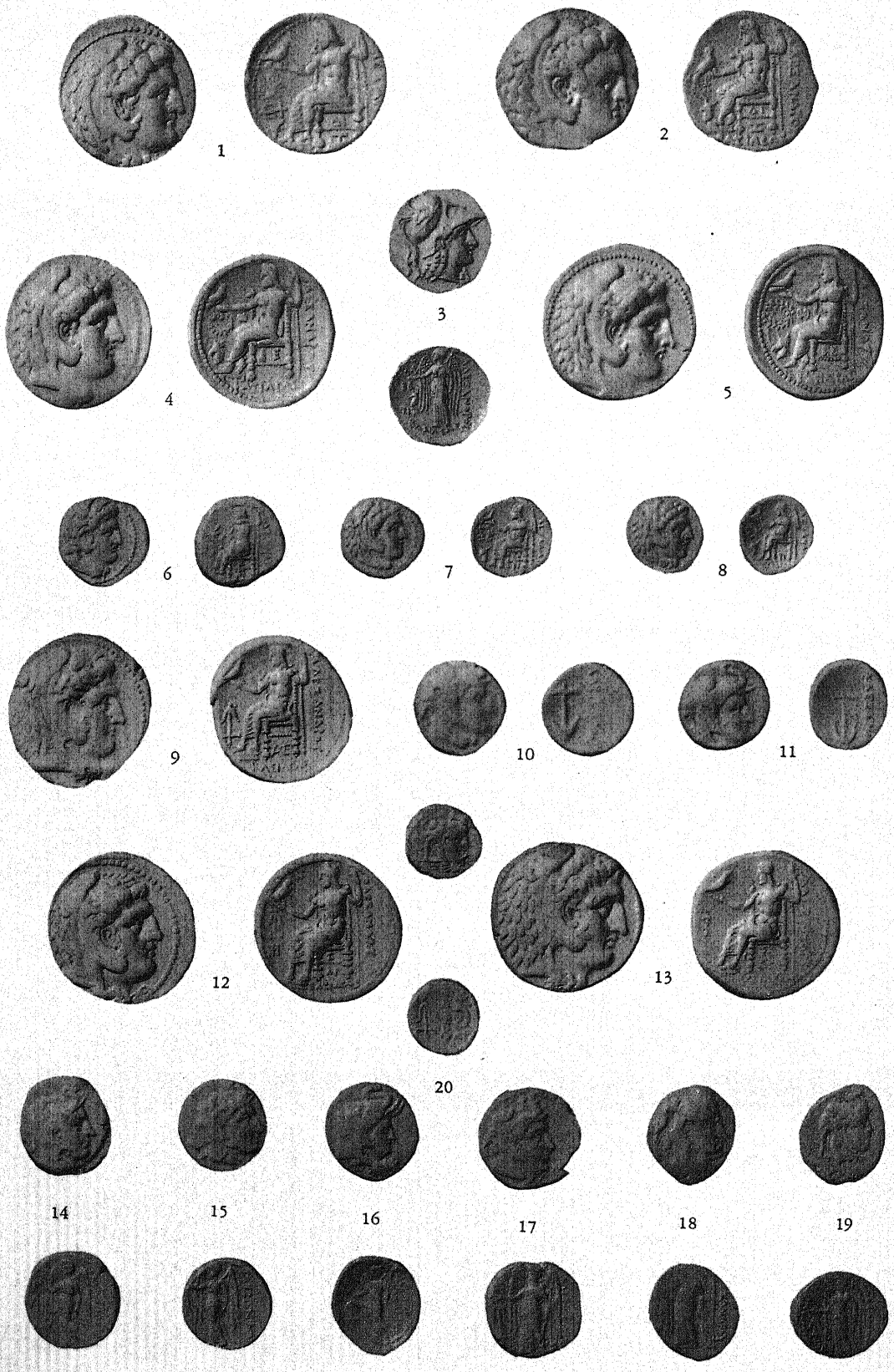
MINT: SELEUCIA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES II, (1-3); SERIES III, (4-14); SERIES IV, (15-19).



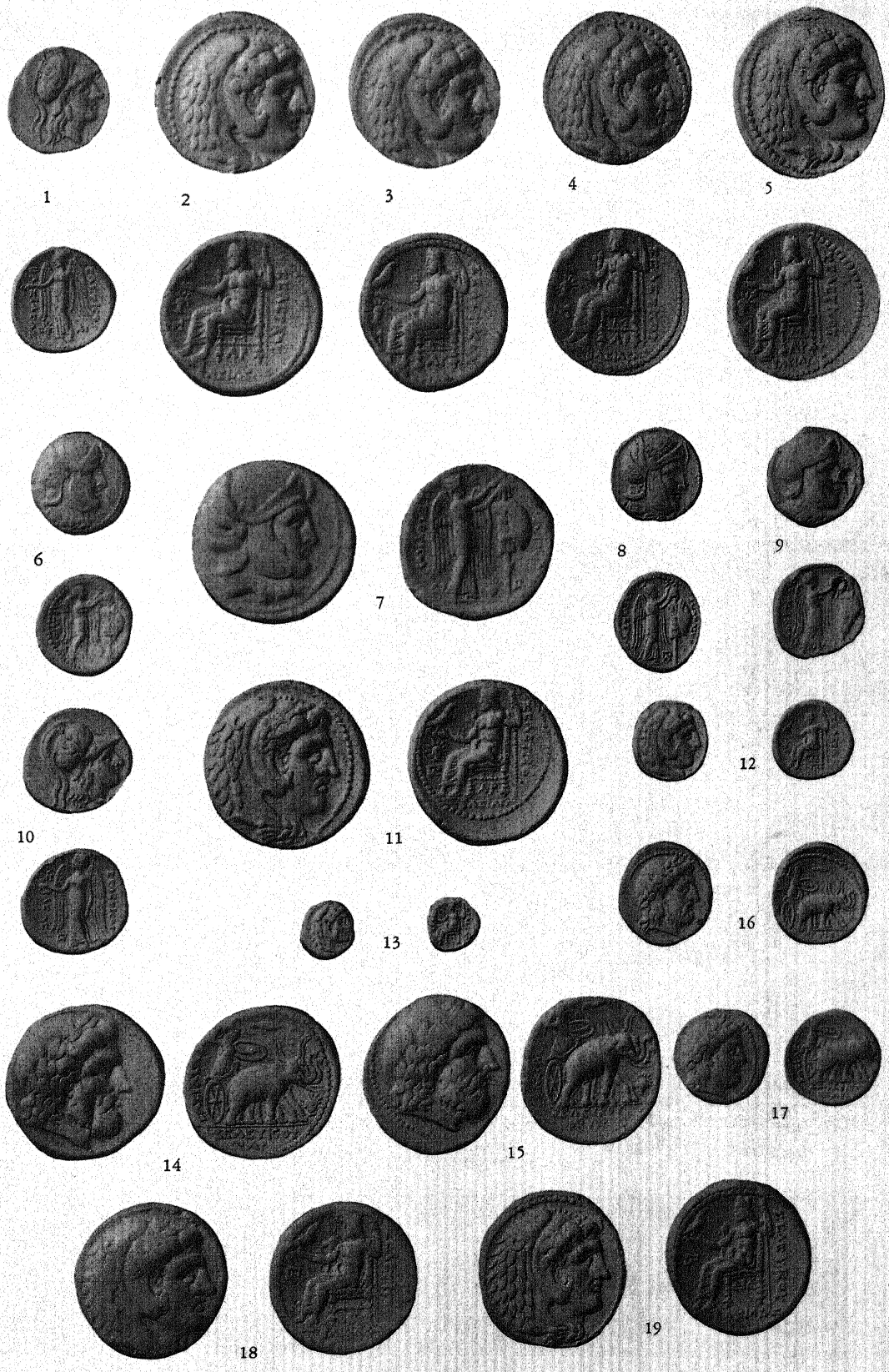
MINT: SELEUCIA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES V, (1-3); SERIES VI, (4-13).
SELEUCUS IV. (14).



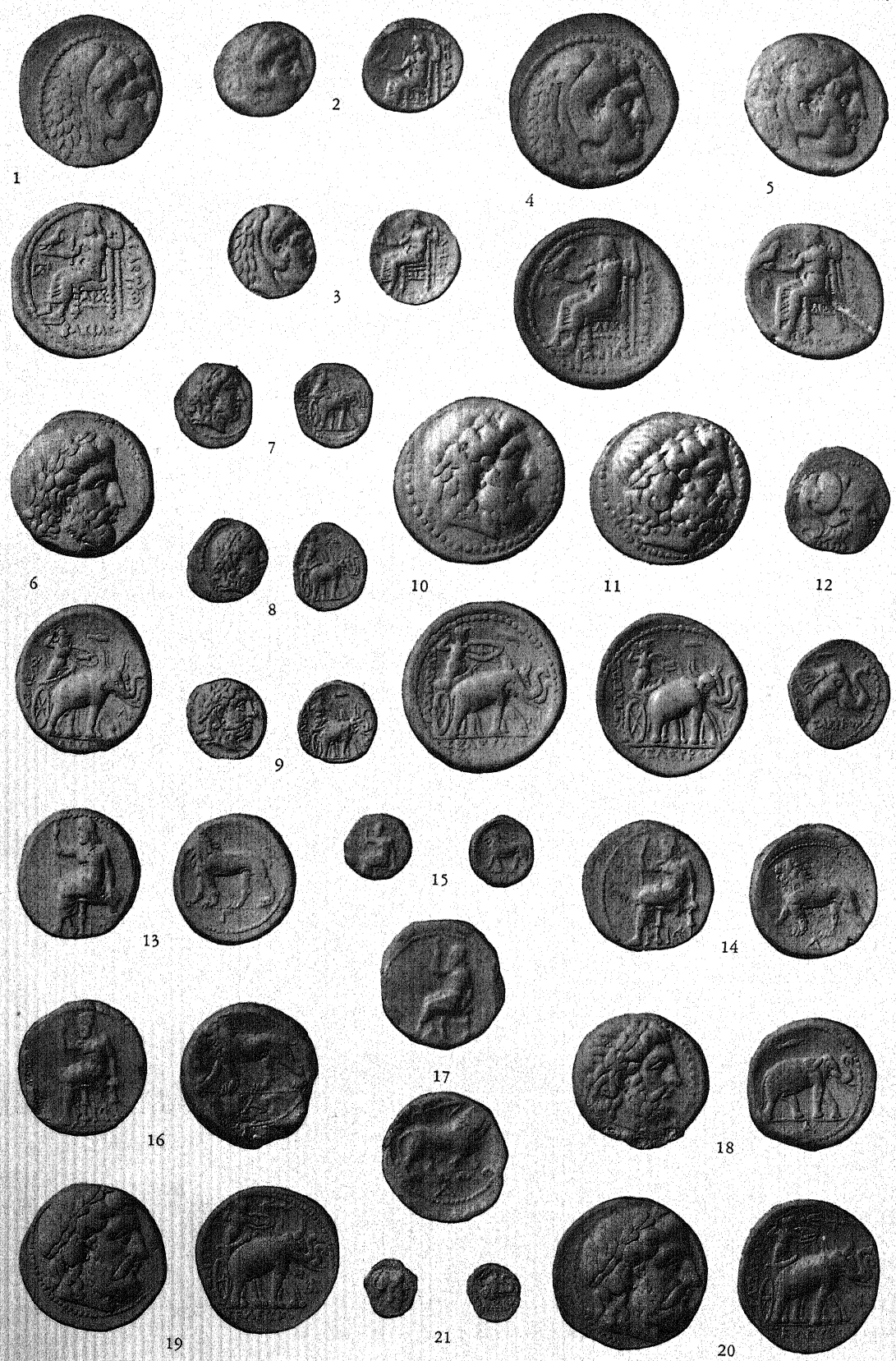
MINT: BABYLON. SELEUCUS I.



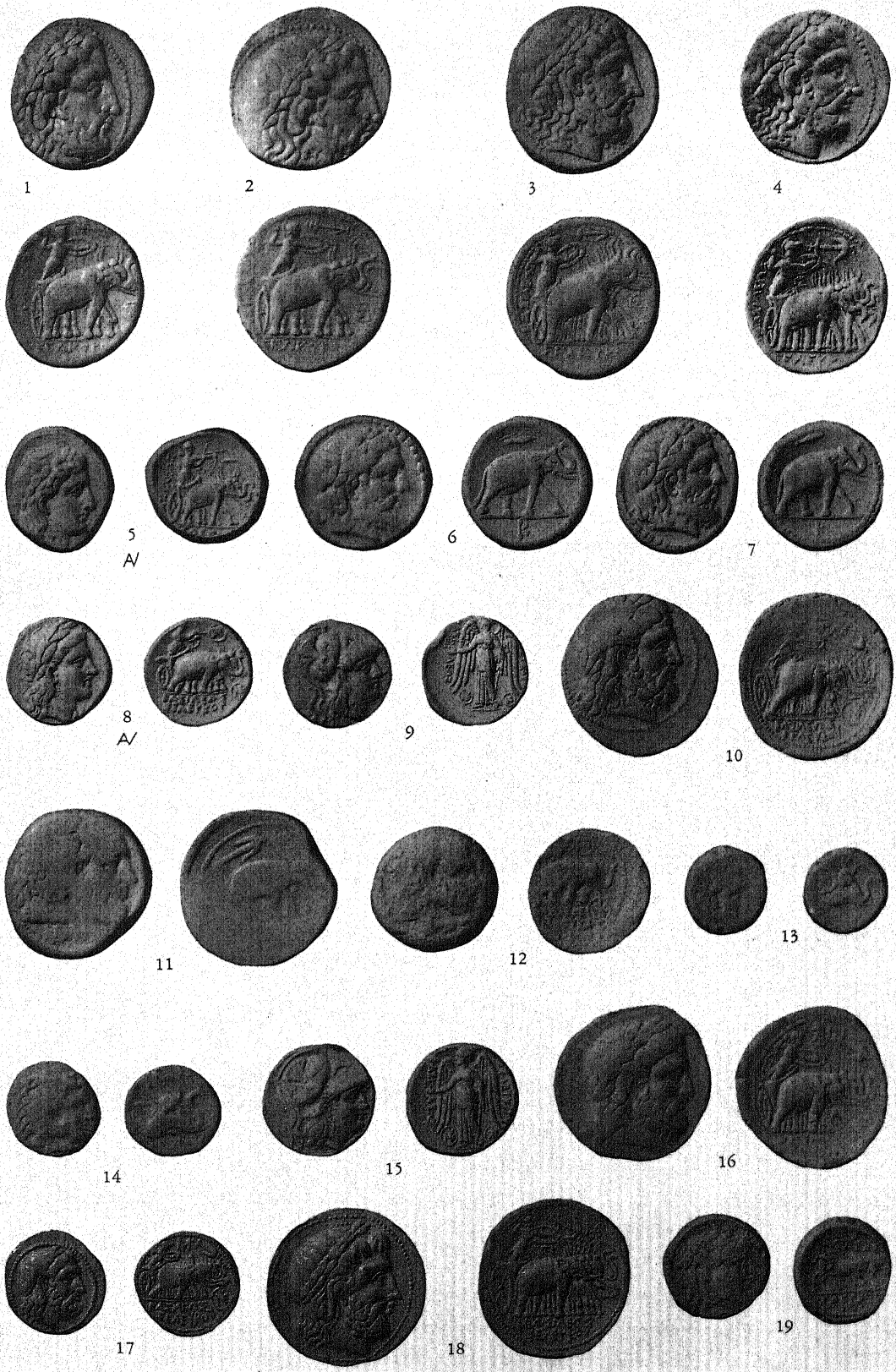
MINT: SUSA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Groups A (1-2), B (3-8), C (9-20).



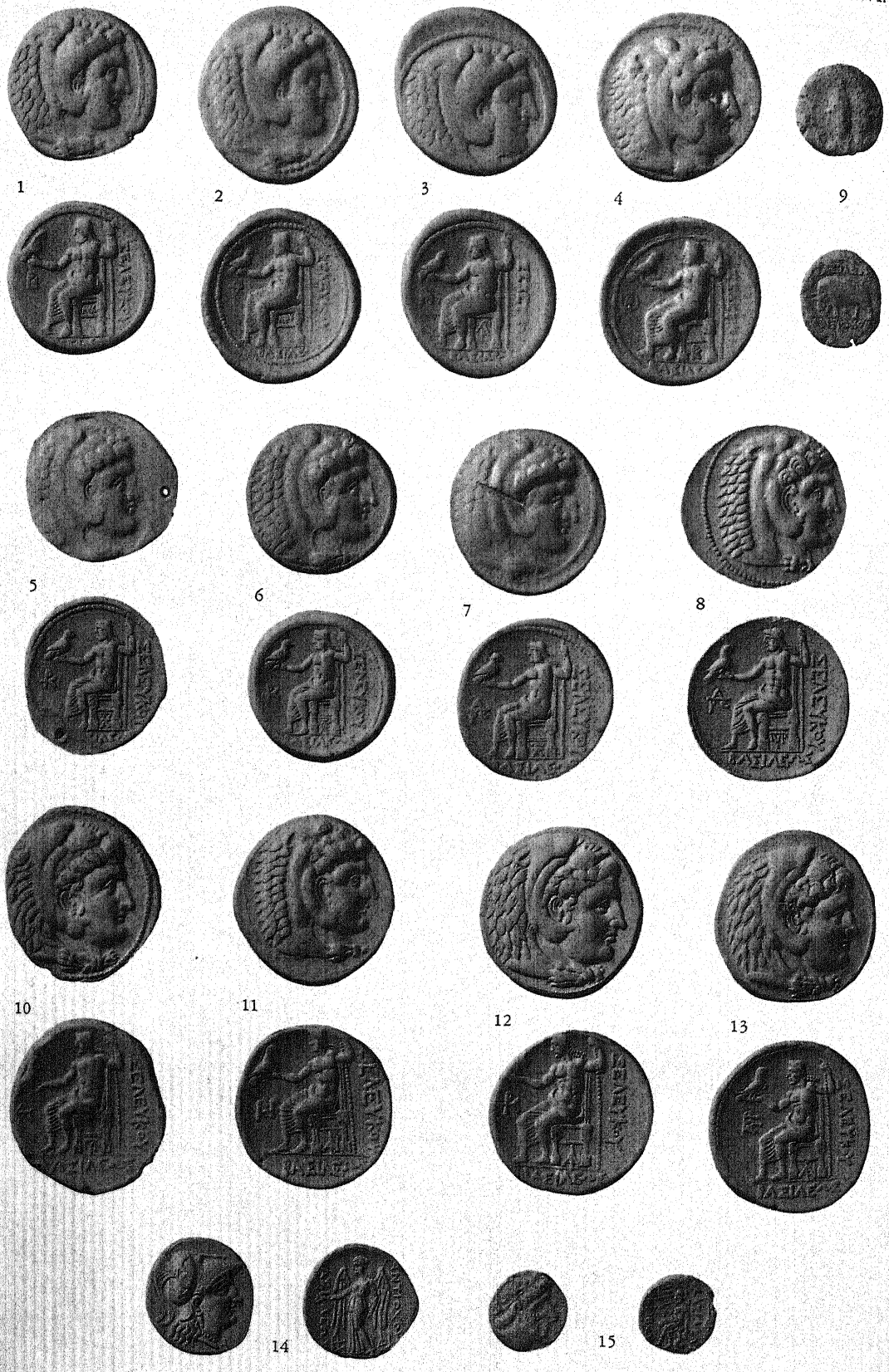
MINT: SUSA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Group E (1-5); SERIES II, Group A (6), B (7-17);
SERIES III, Group A (18-19).



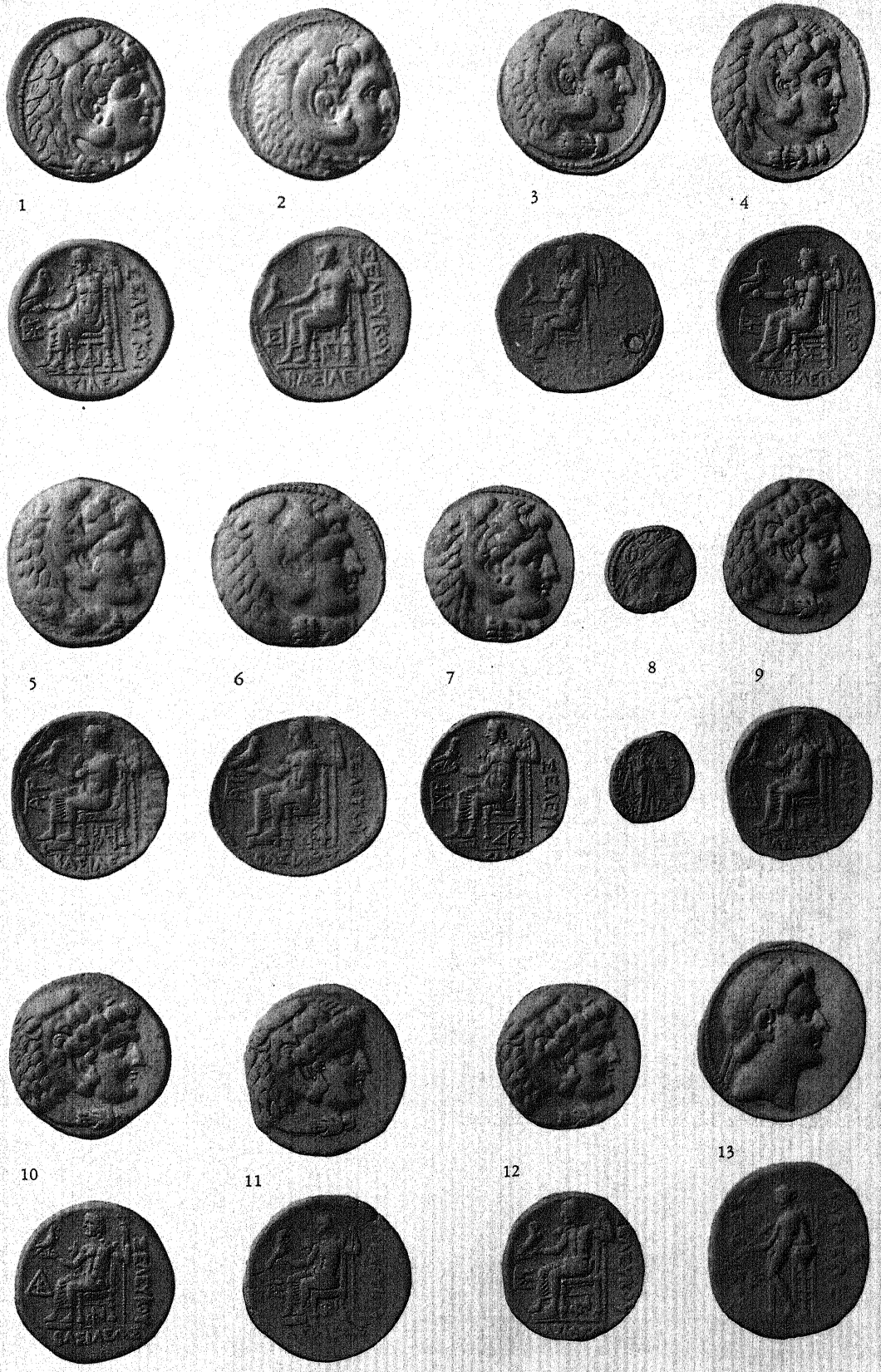
MINT: SUSA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES III, Groups A (1-5), B (6-9), C (10-18), D (19-21).



MINT: SUSA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES III, Groups E (1-4), F (5-7), G (8-19).



MINT: SUSA. ANTIOCHUS I.
SERIES I, (1-3); SERIES II, (4-15).

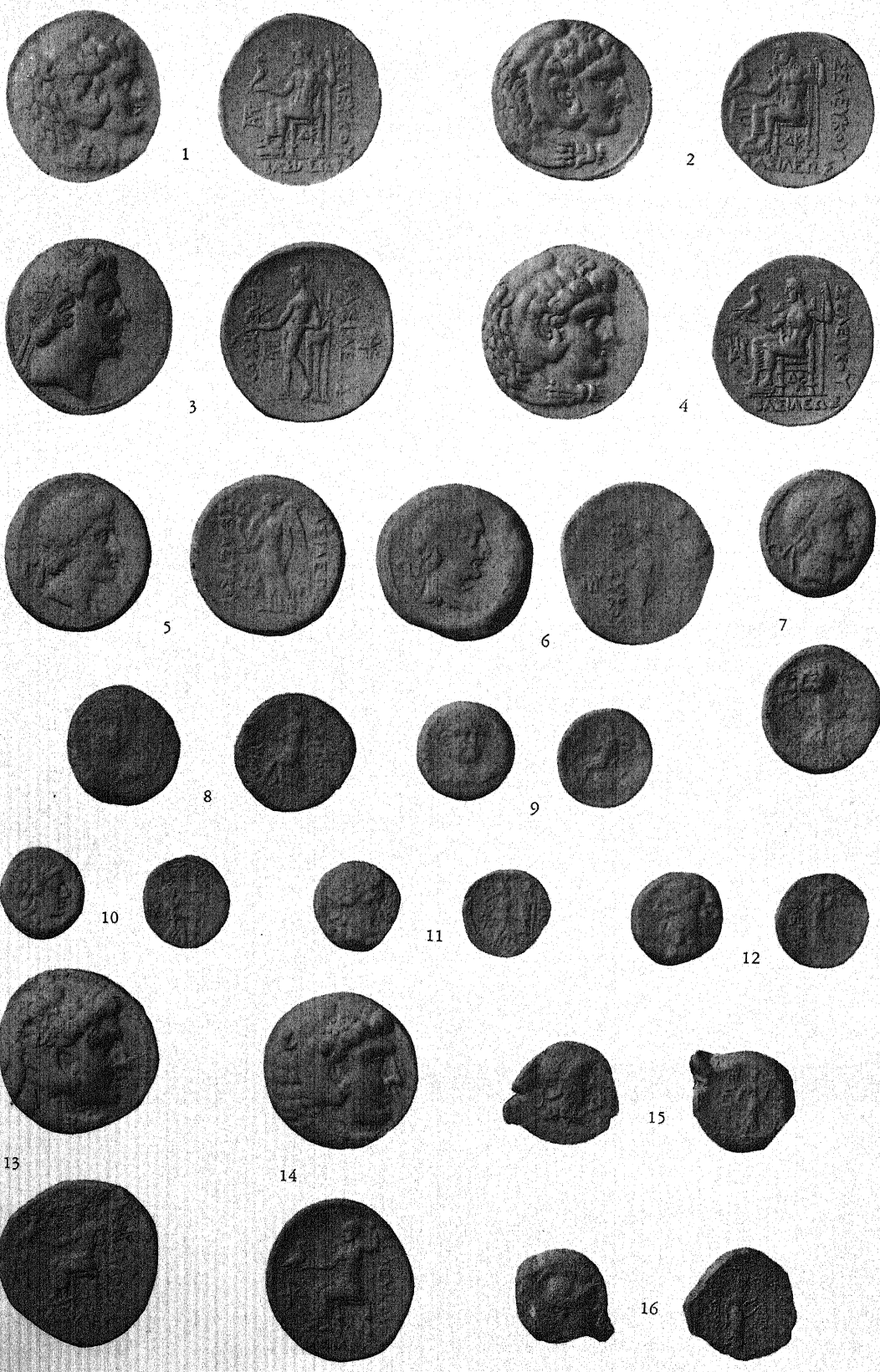


1 2 3 4

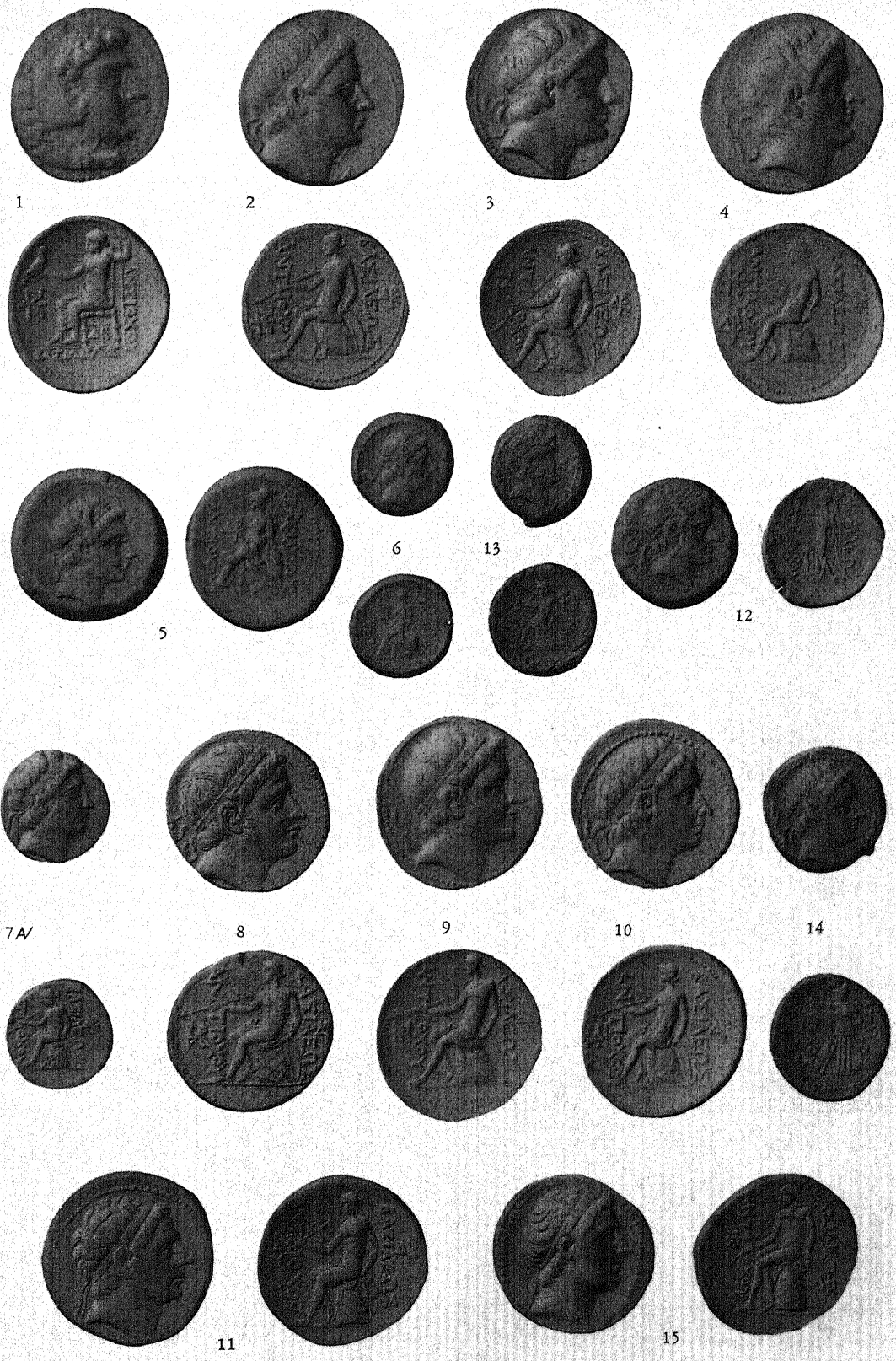
5 6 7 8 9

10 11 12 13

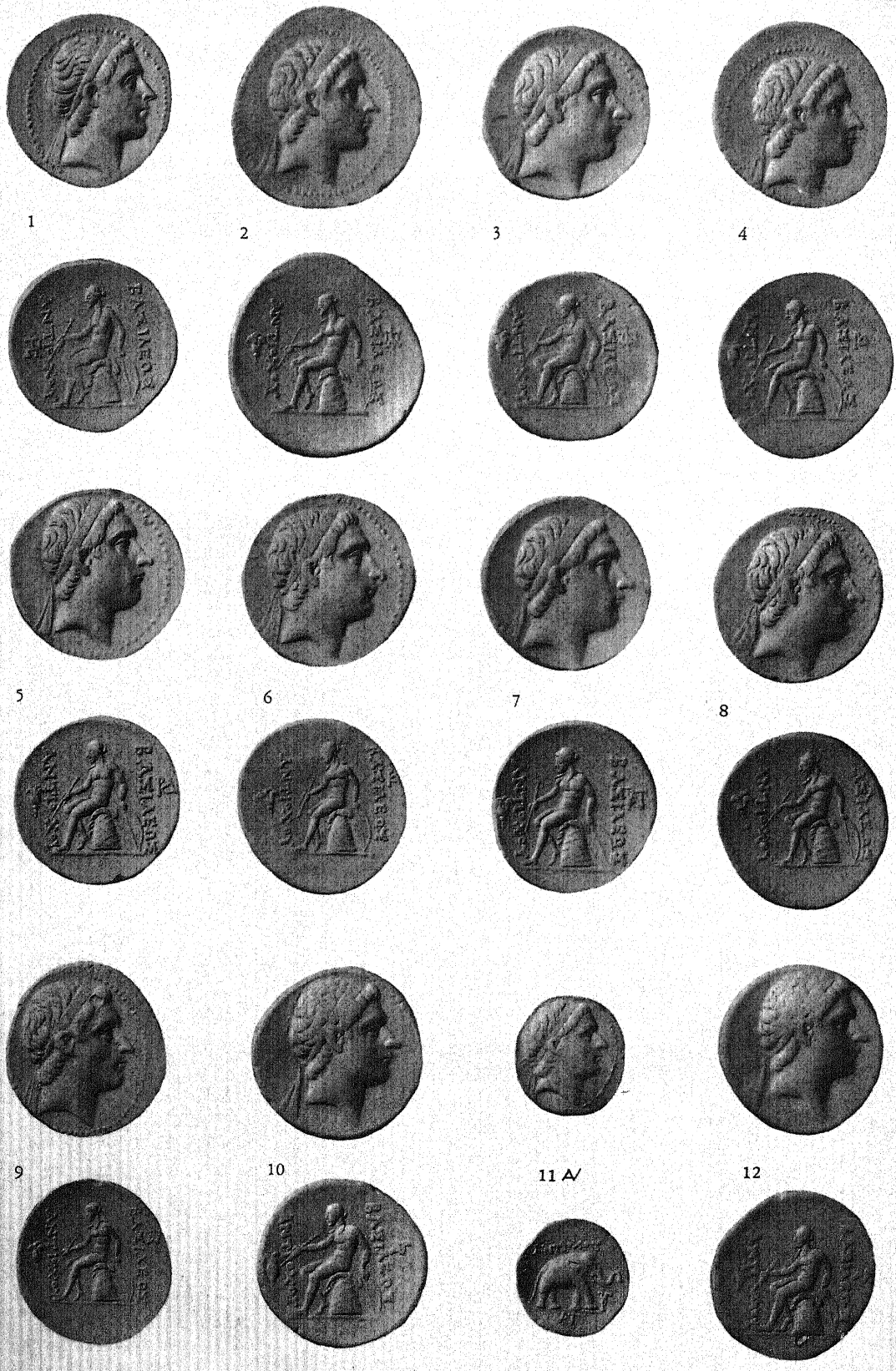
MINT: SUSA. ANTIOCHUS I. (1)
ANTIOCHUS II. (2-10). SELEUCUS II. (11-13).



MINT: SUSA. SELEUCUS II. (1-12)
SELEUCUS III. (13-16).



MINT: SUSA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES I, Groups A (1-6), B (7-14); SERIES II, Group A (15).



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MINT: SUSA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES II, Groups A (1), B (2-12).


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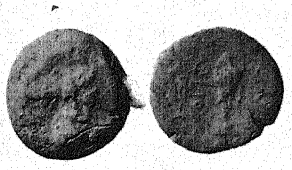

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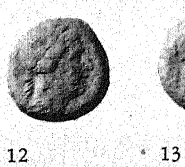
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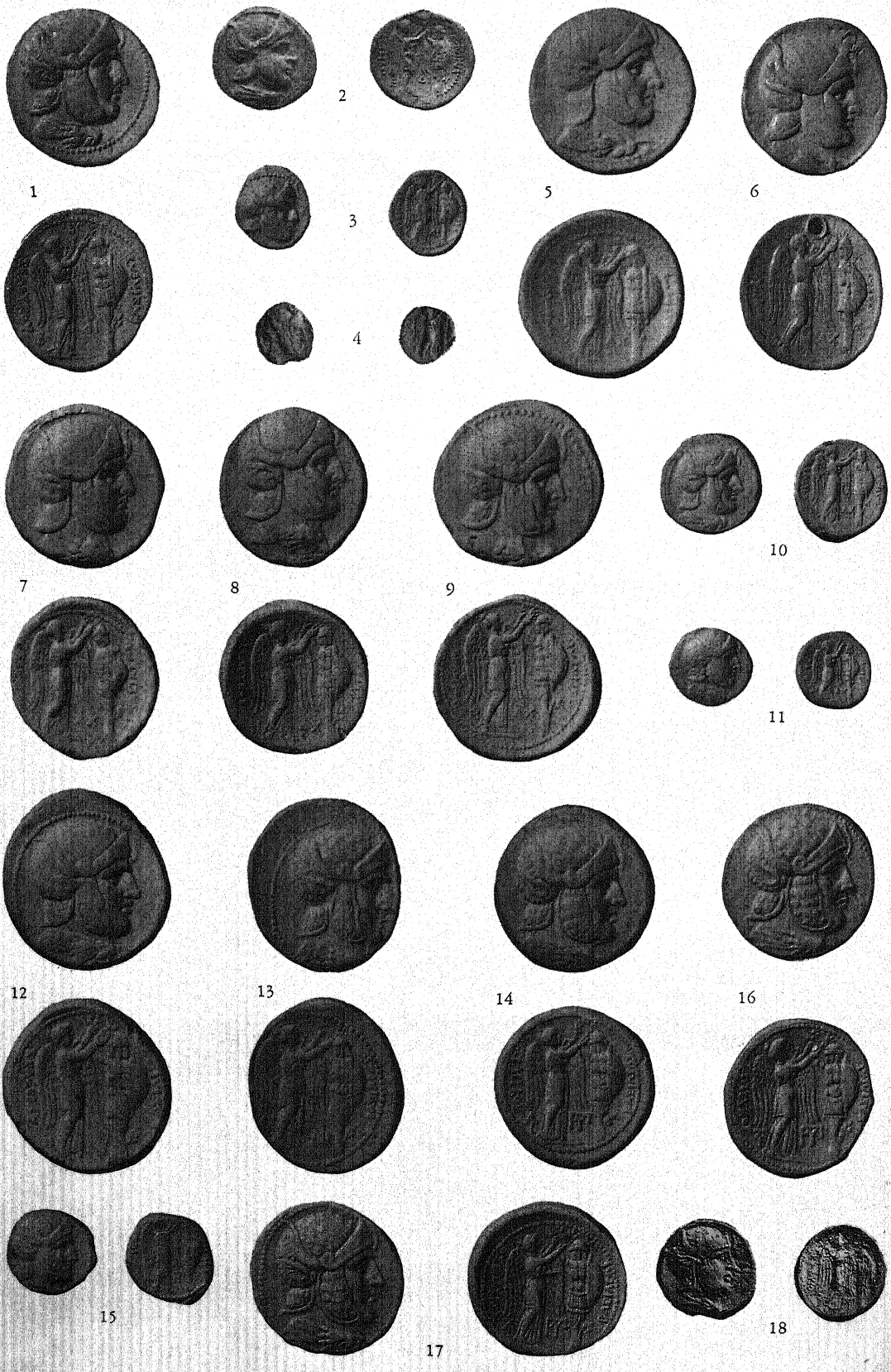

18



19

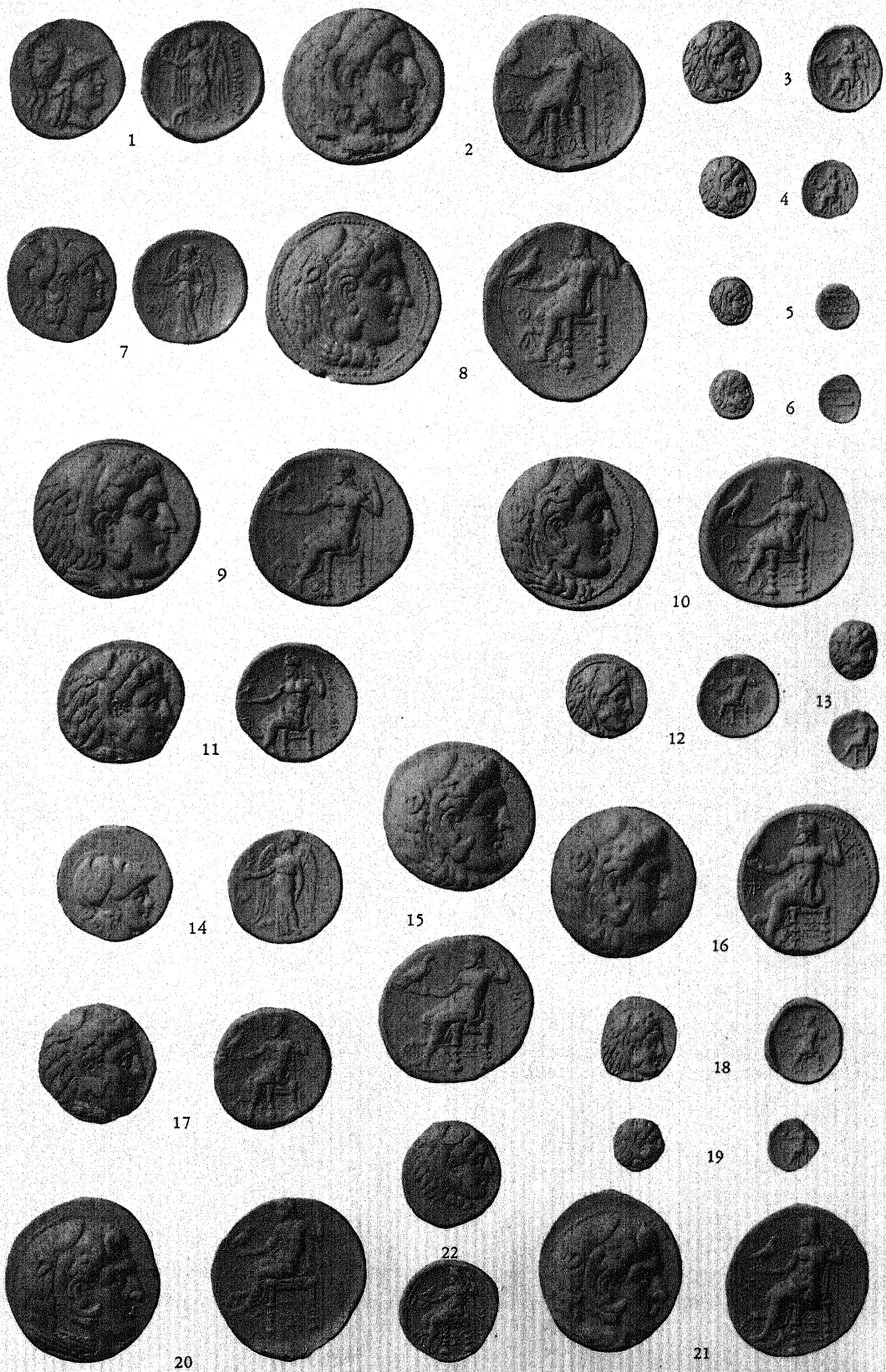
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SERIES II, Groups B (1-7) and Miscellaneous Bronze (8-19).

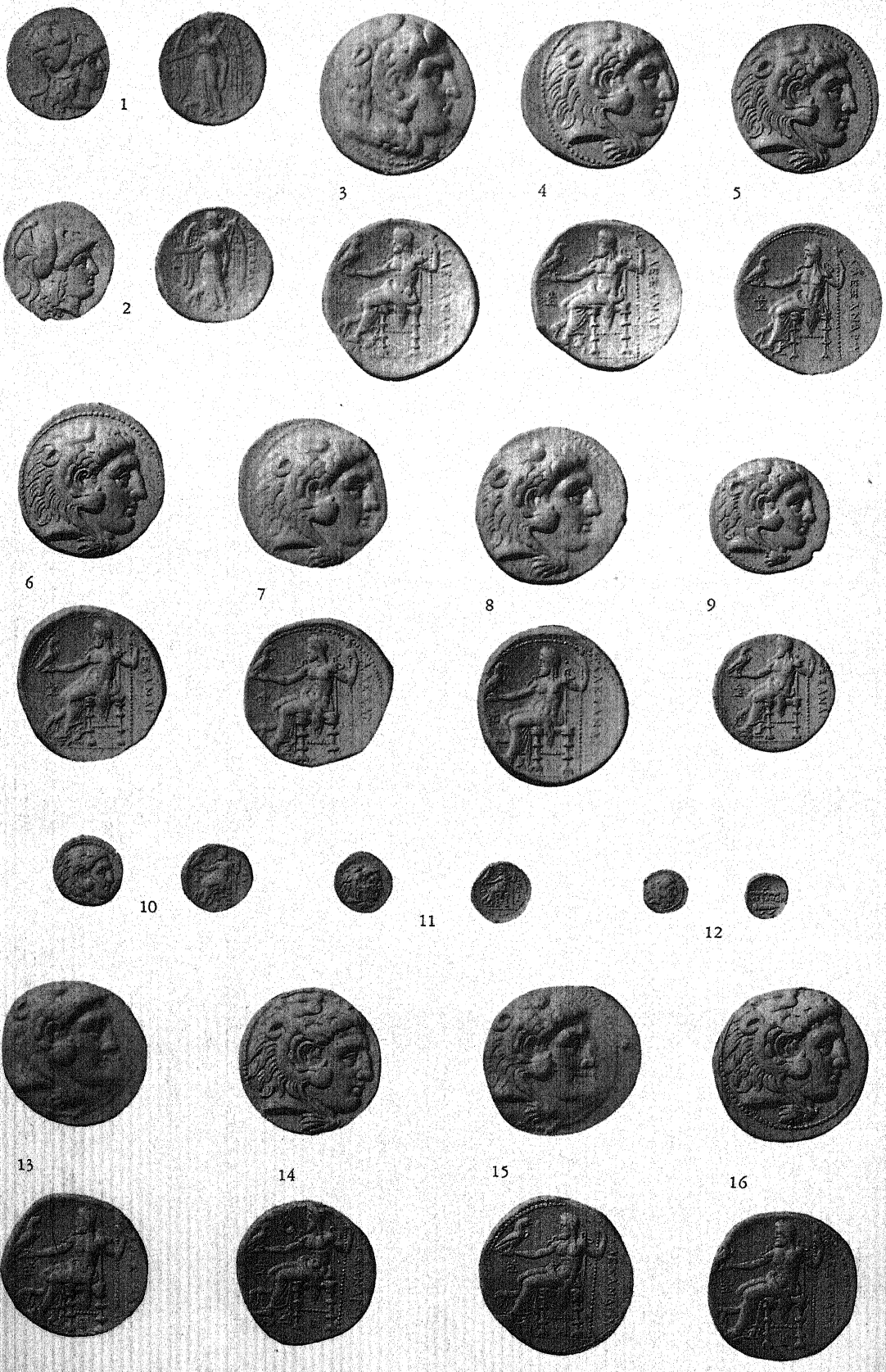


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

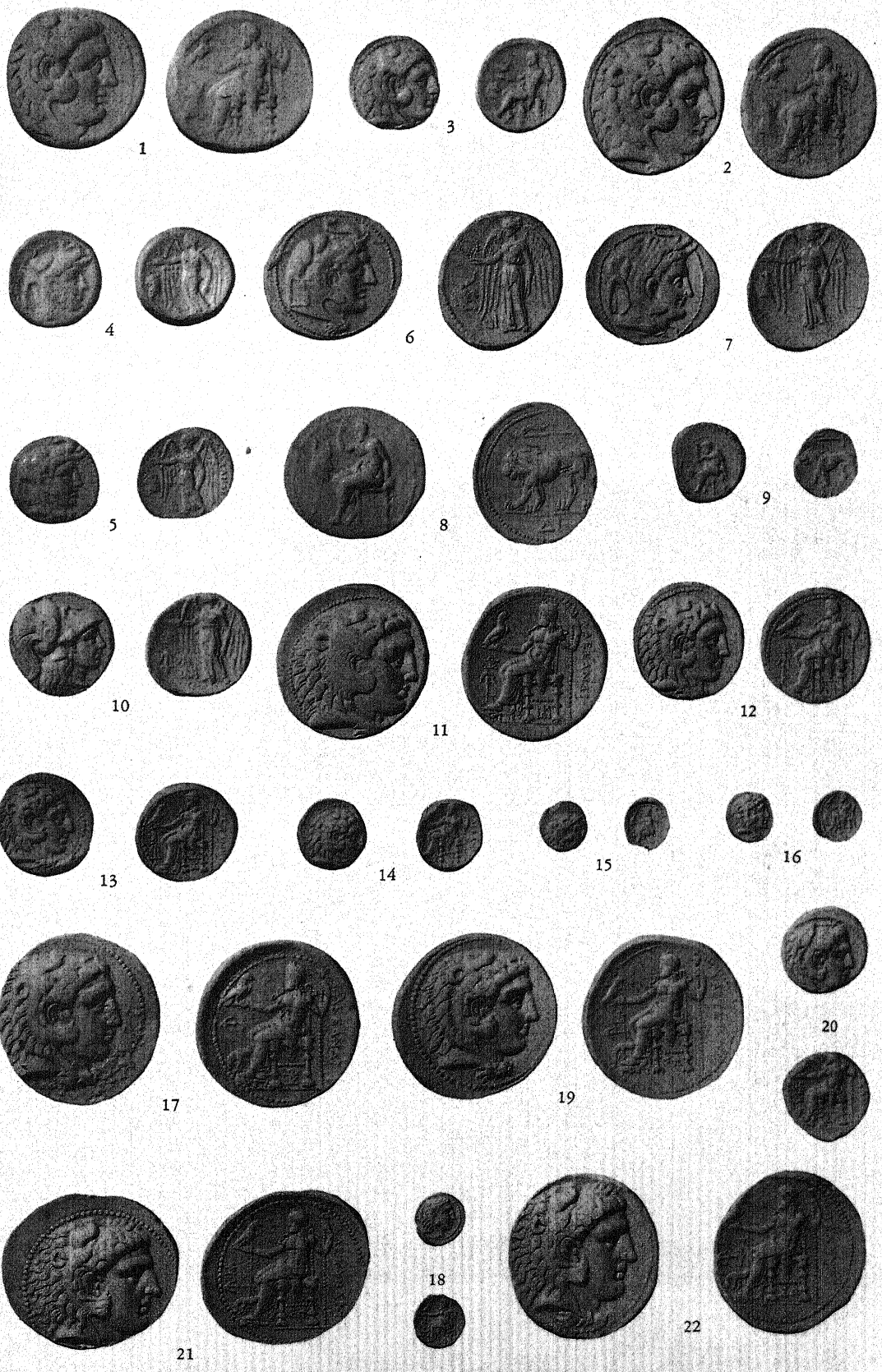
MINT: PERSEPOLIS. SELEUCUS I.



MINT: ECBATANA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Groups A (1-6), B (7-13), C (14-19), D (20-22).

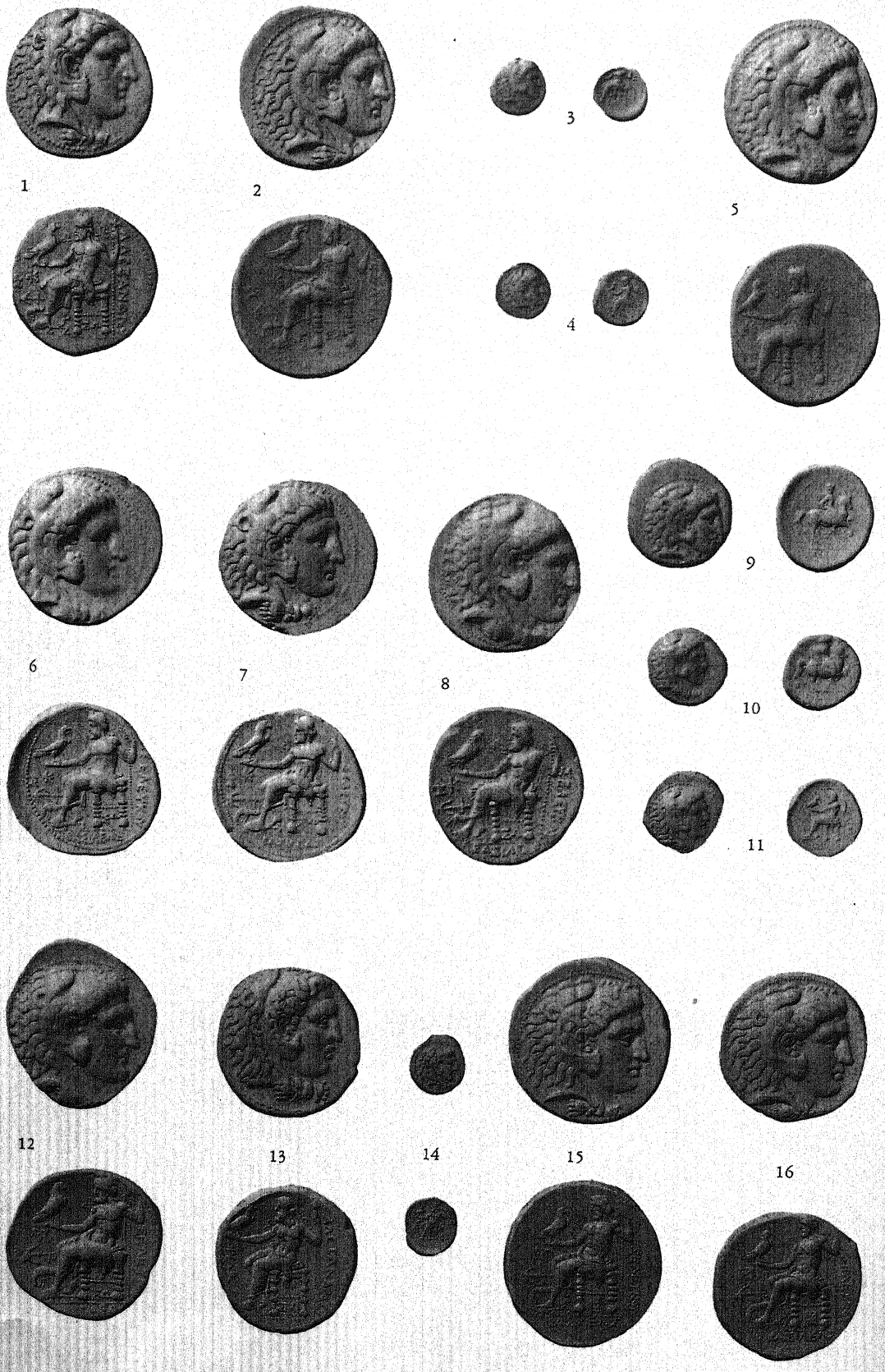


MINT: ECBATANA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, Groups E (1-12), F (13-16).



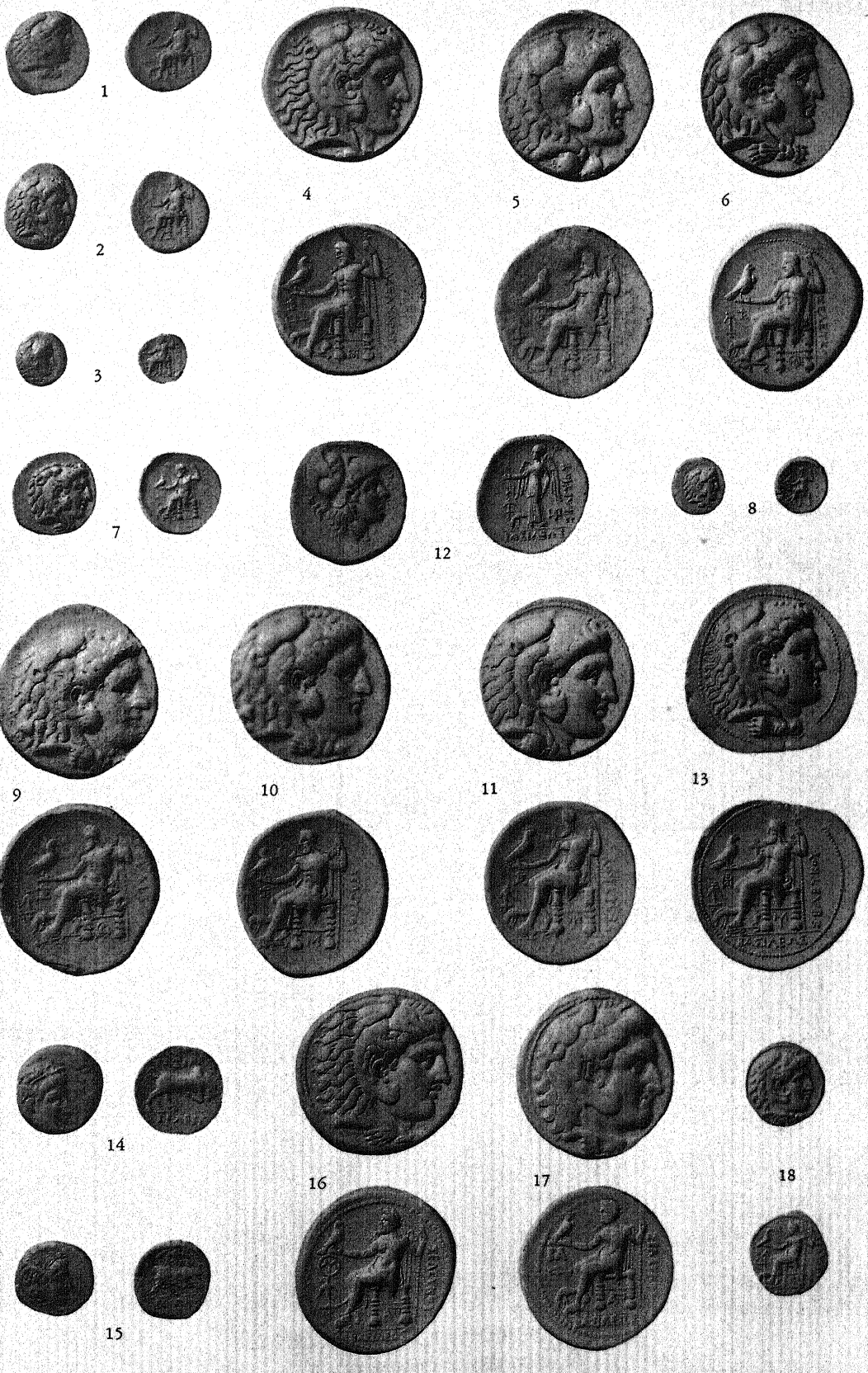
MINT: ECBATANA. SELEUCUS I.

SERIES II. GROUPS A (1-9), B (10-16), C (17-18), D (19-22).

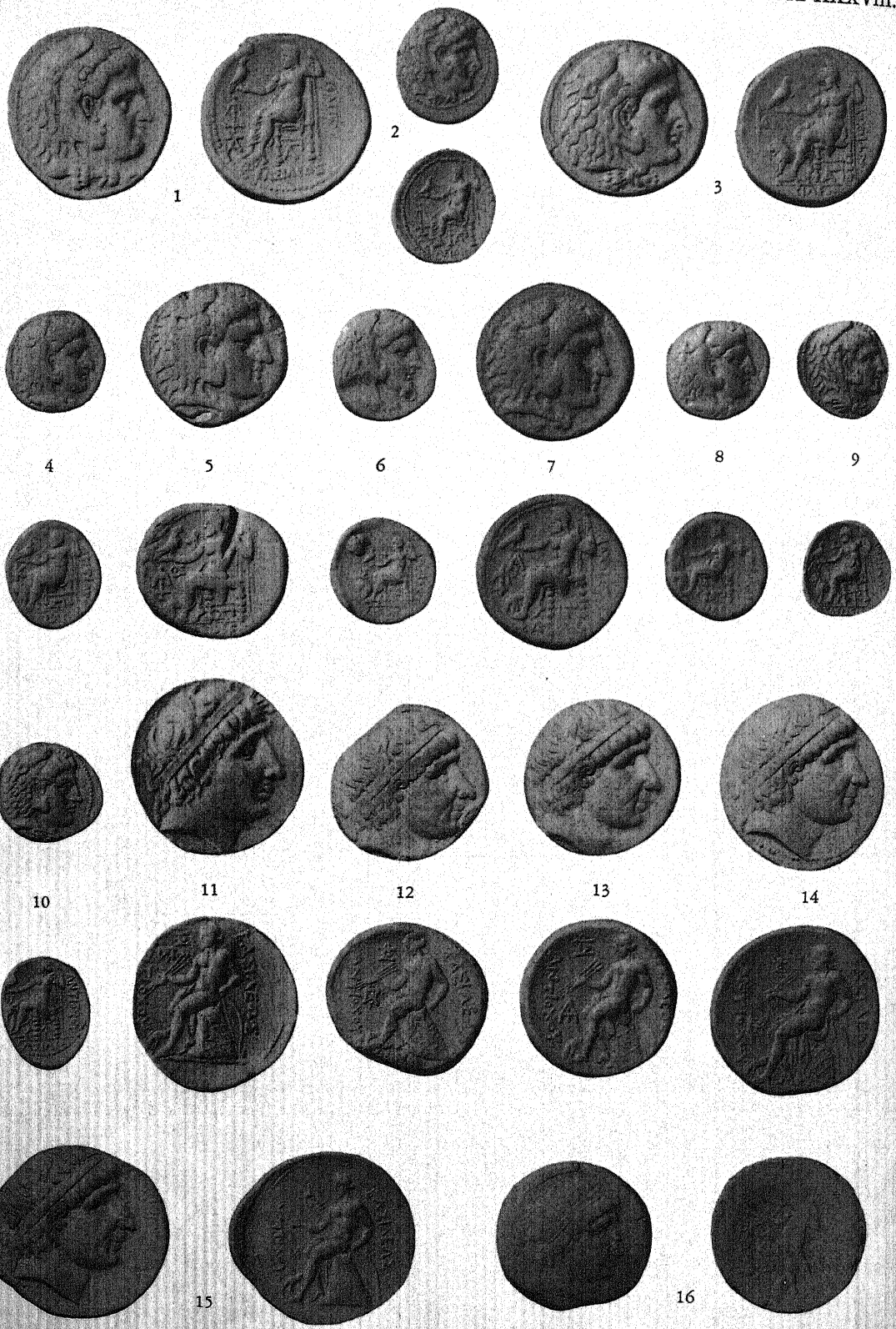


MINT: ECBATANA. SELEUCUS I.

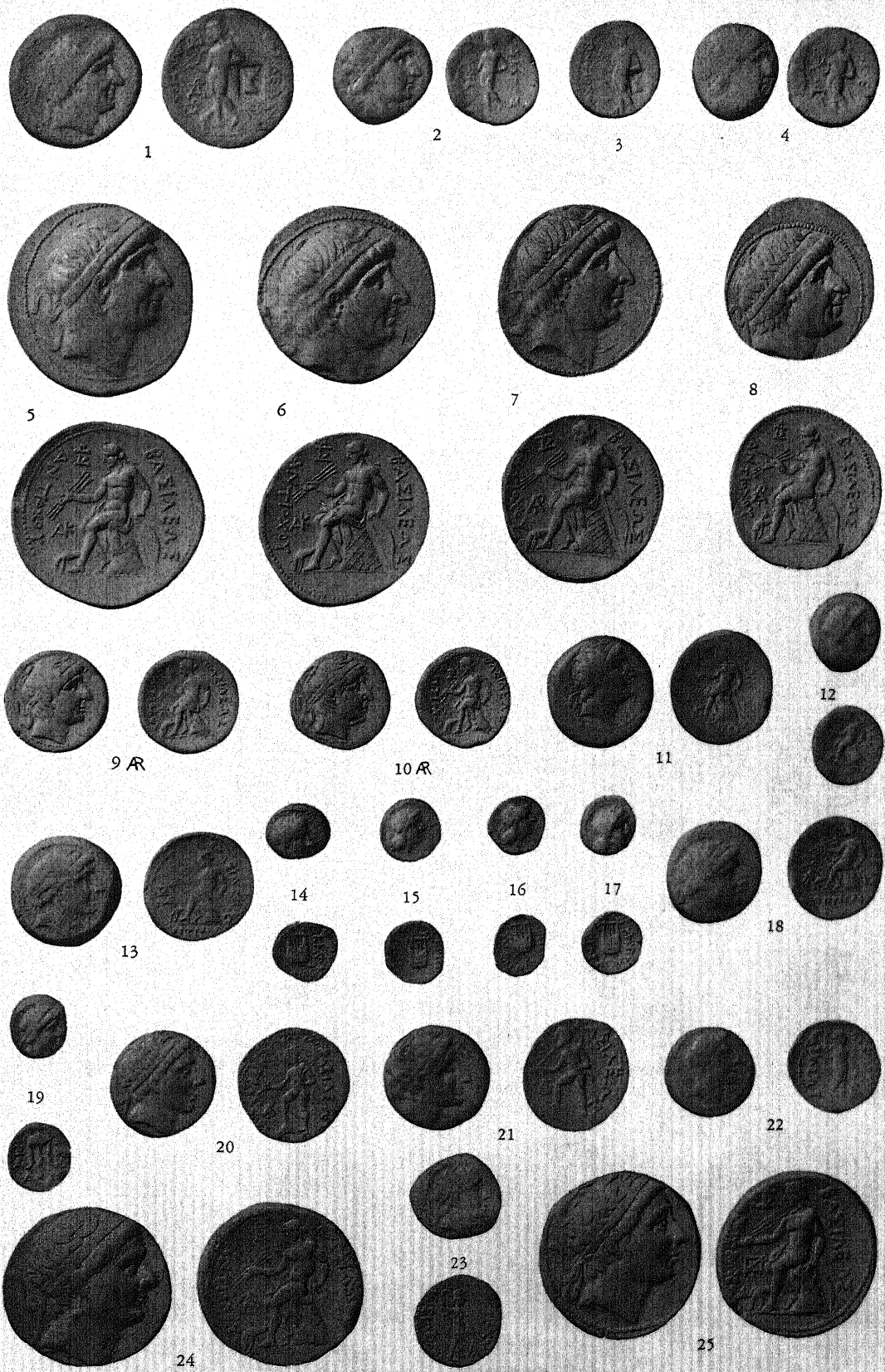
SERIES II, Group D (1-4); SERIES III, Groups A (5-11), B (12-14), C (15-16).



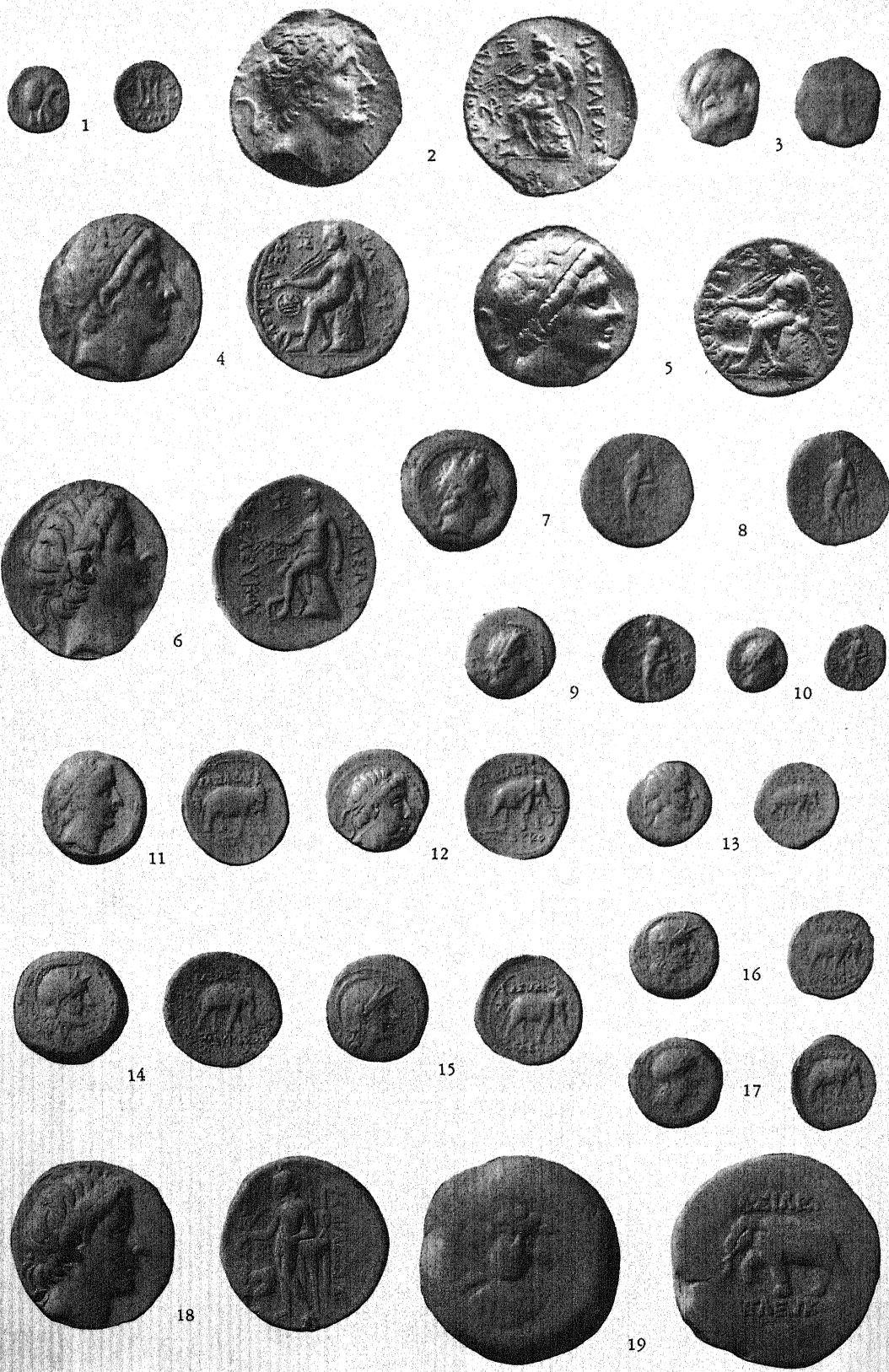
MINT: ECBATANA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES III, Groups C (1-5), D (6-15), E (16-18).



MINT: ECBATANA. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES III, Group E (1-2).
ANTIOCHUS I. SERIES I, (3-10); SERIES II, Groups A (11), B (12-16).



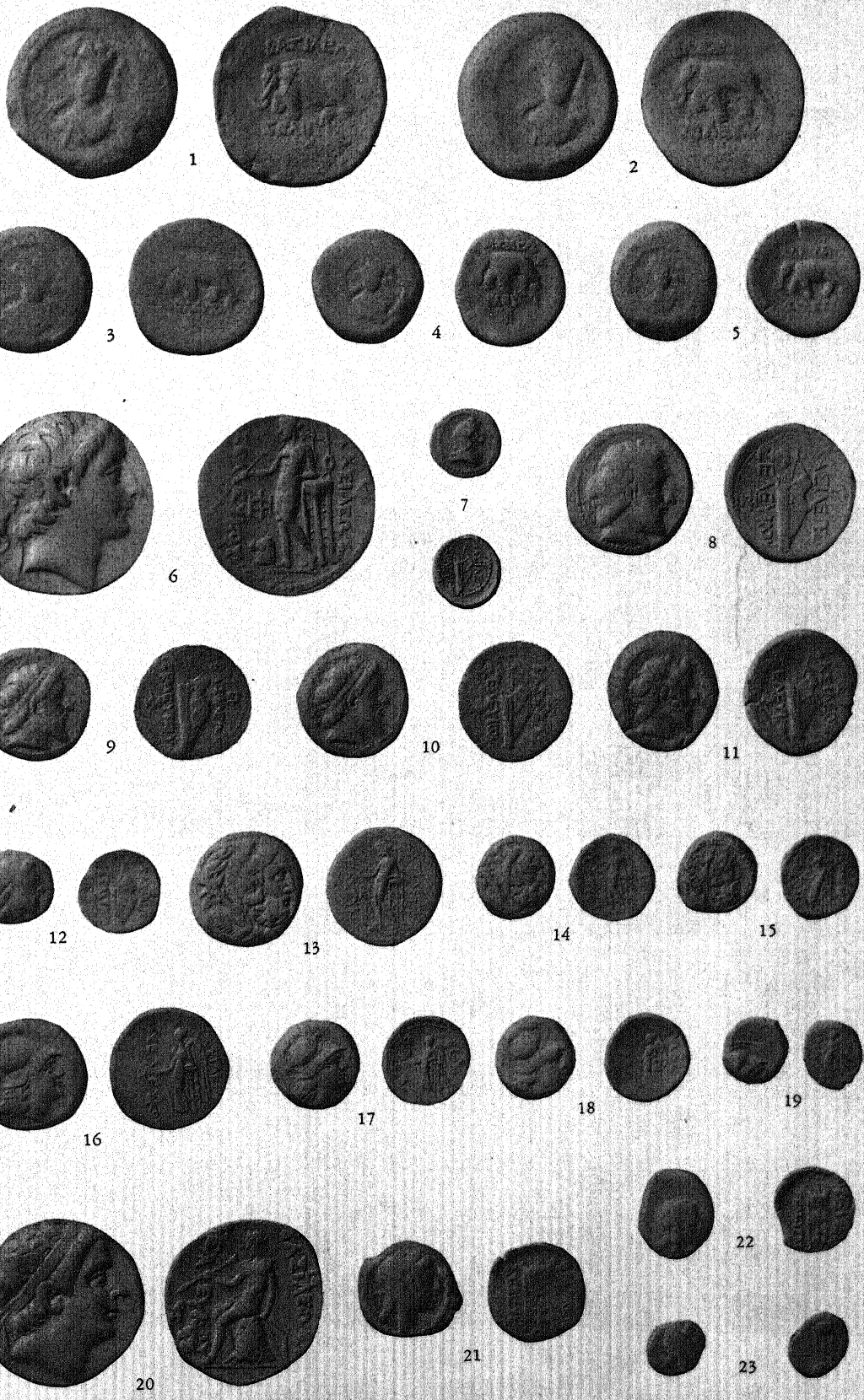
MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS I.
SERIES II, Groups B (1-4), C (14-17), D (5-13, 18-19).
ANTIOCHUS II. Groups A (20-23), B (24-25).



MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS II.

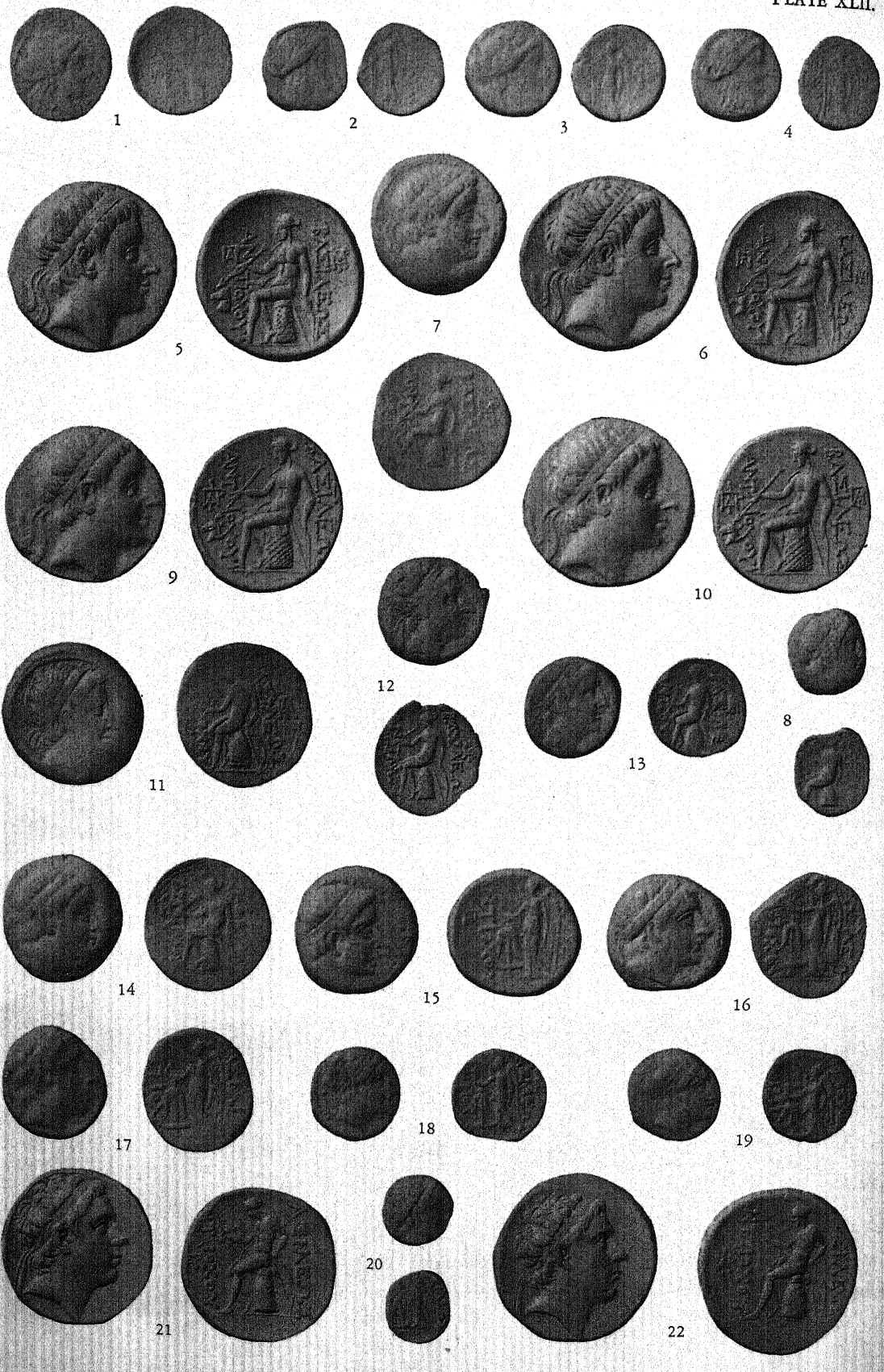
Groups A (1), B (2-3).

SELEUCUS II. SERIES I, Groups A (4-5), B (6-10), C (11-17);
SERIES II, (18-19)

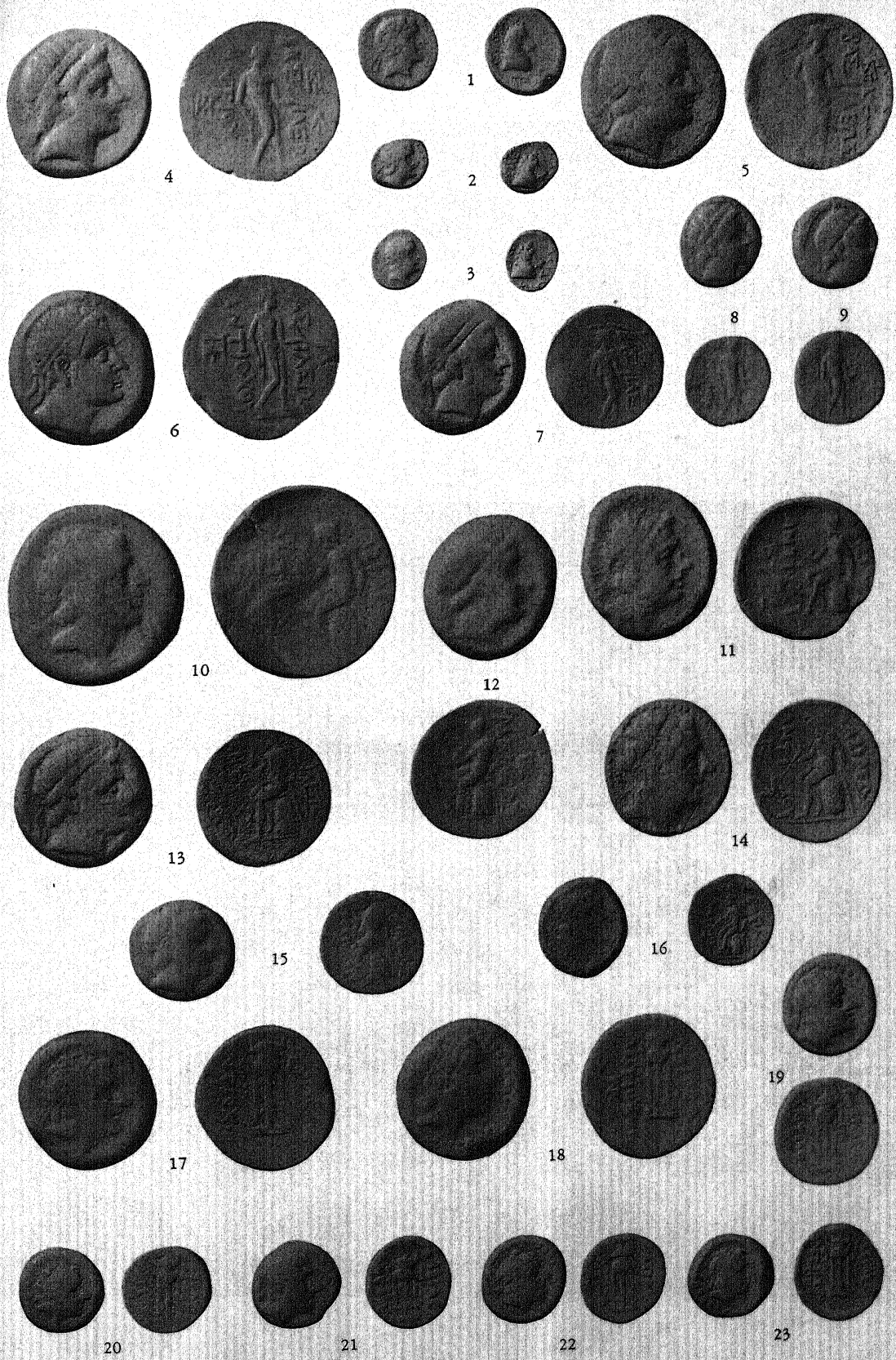


MINT: ECBATANA. SELEUCUS II.

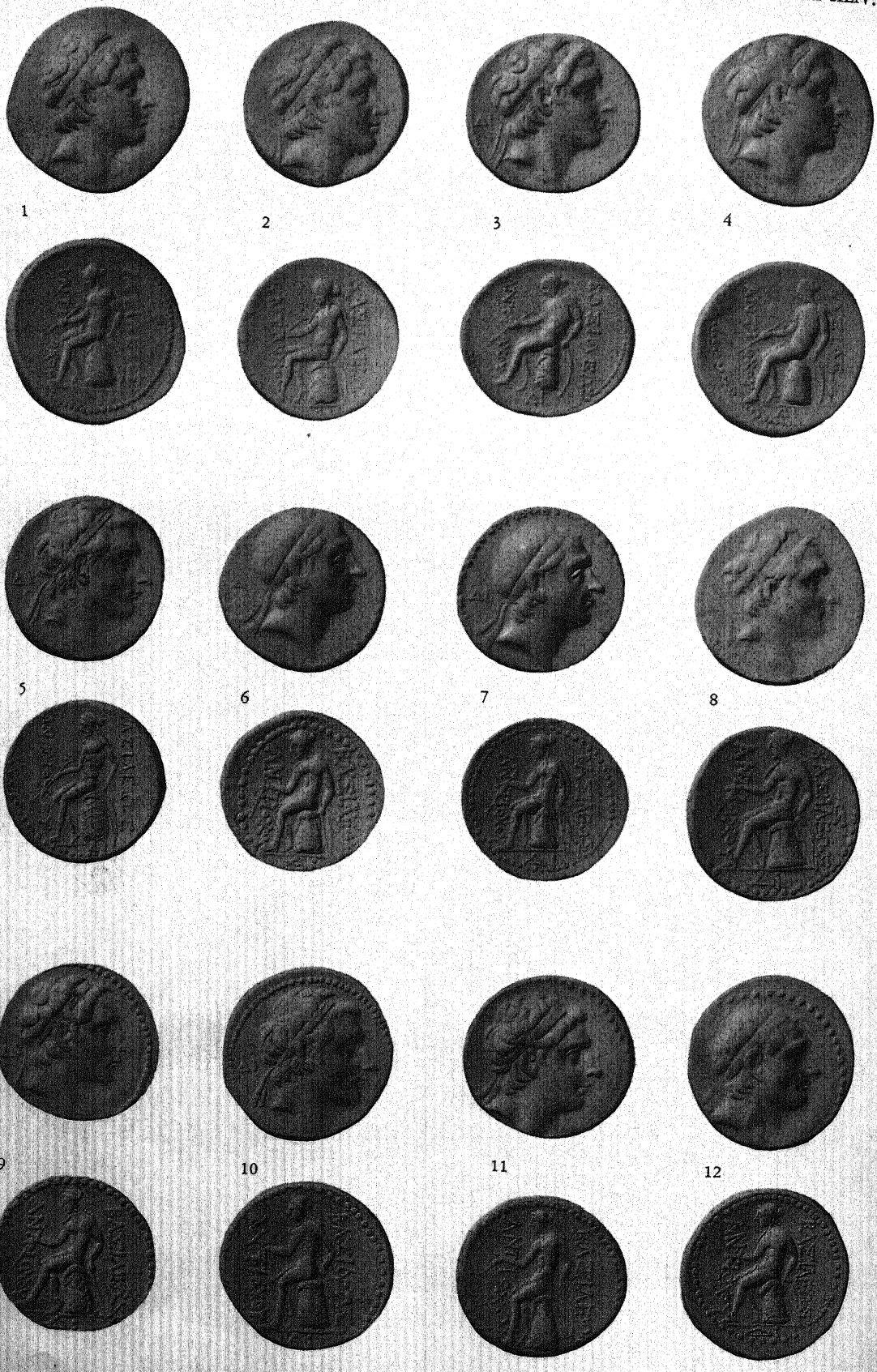
SERIES II, (1-5); SERIES III, Groups A (6-12), B (13-15), C (16-19).



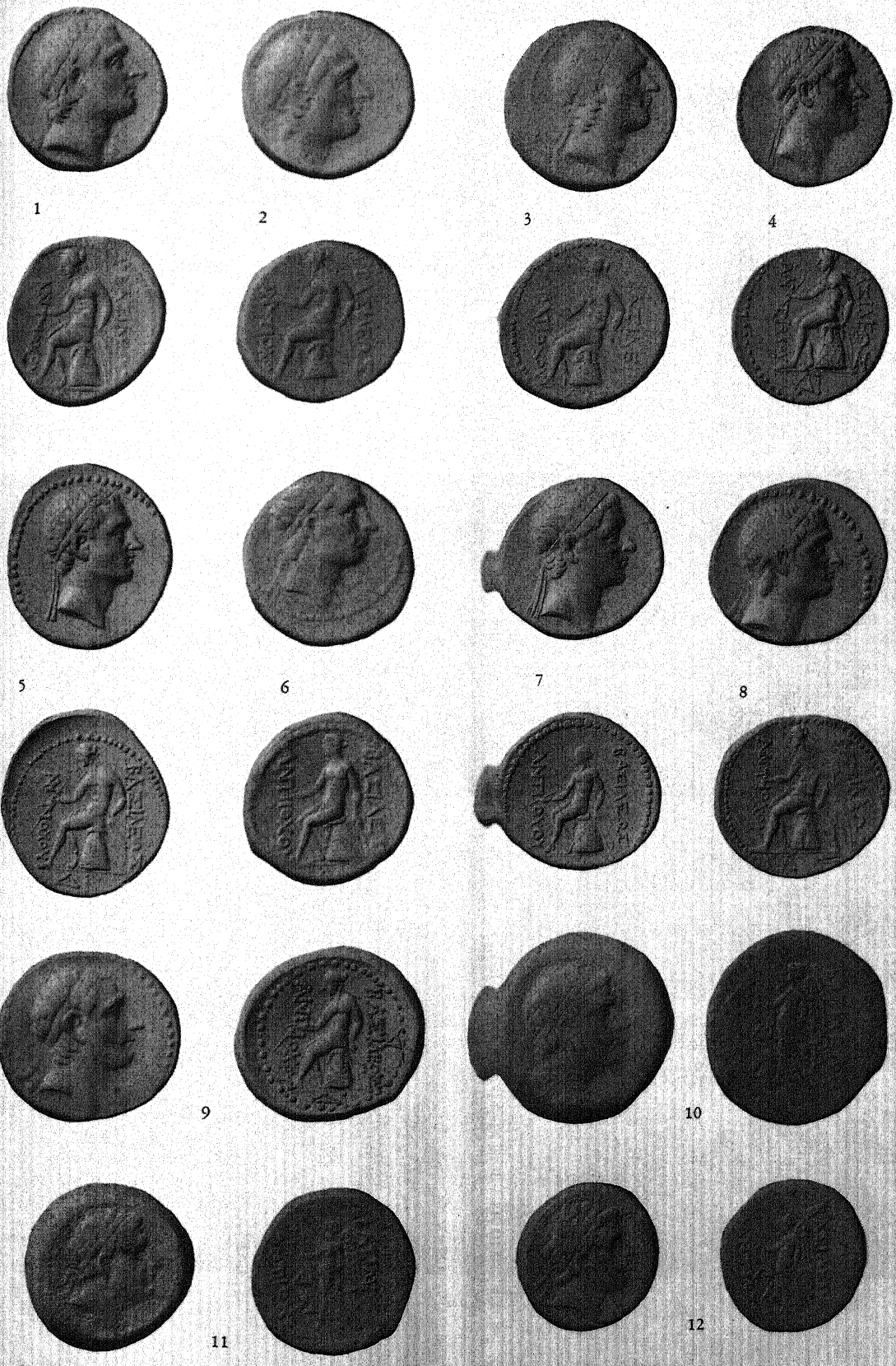
MINT: ECBATANA. MOLON. (1-4)
ANTIOCHUS III. SERIES I, Groups A (5-8), B (9-14), C (15-20);



MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES II, Groups A (1-9), B (10-16), C (17-23).

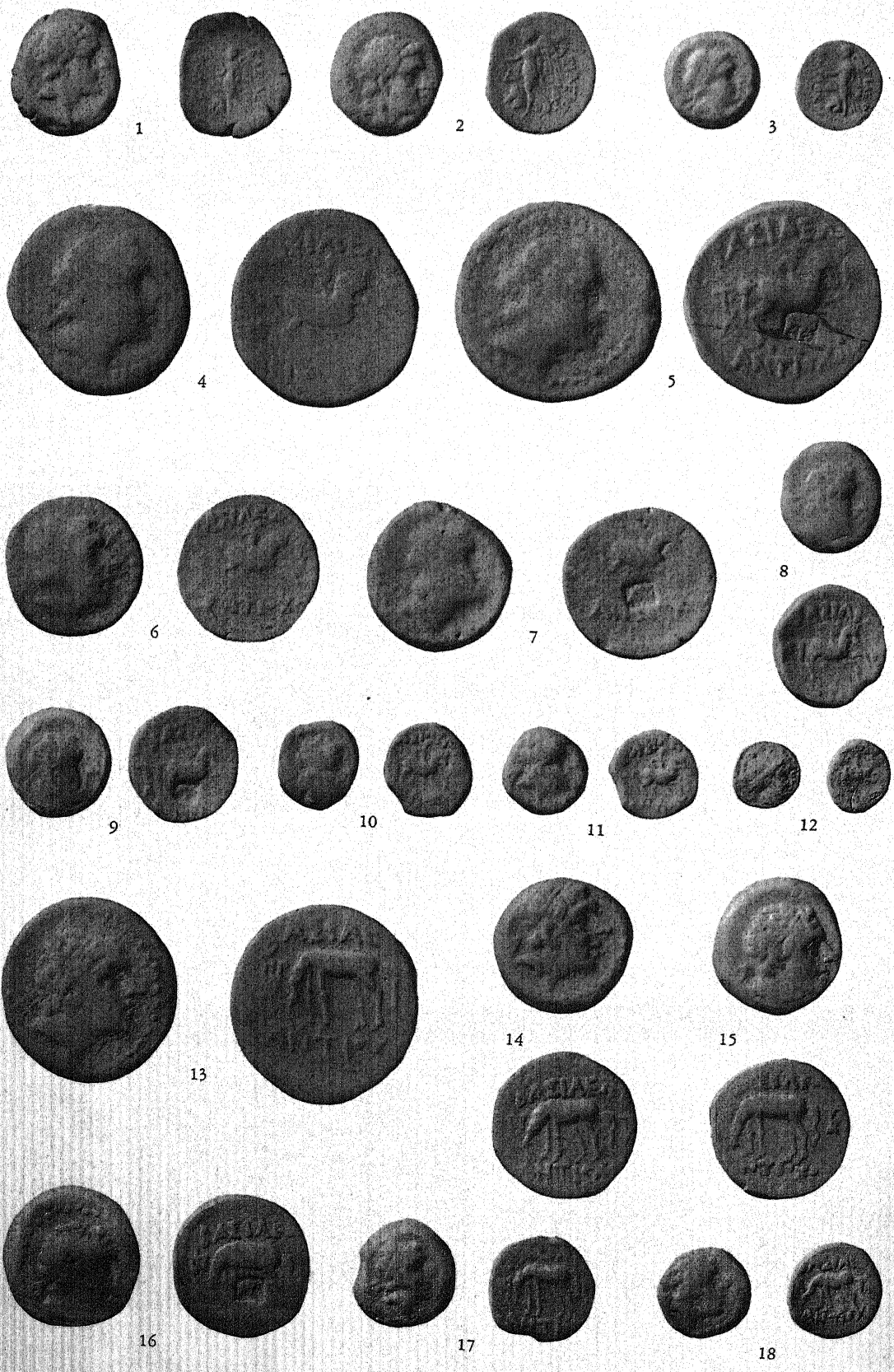


MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES III.

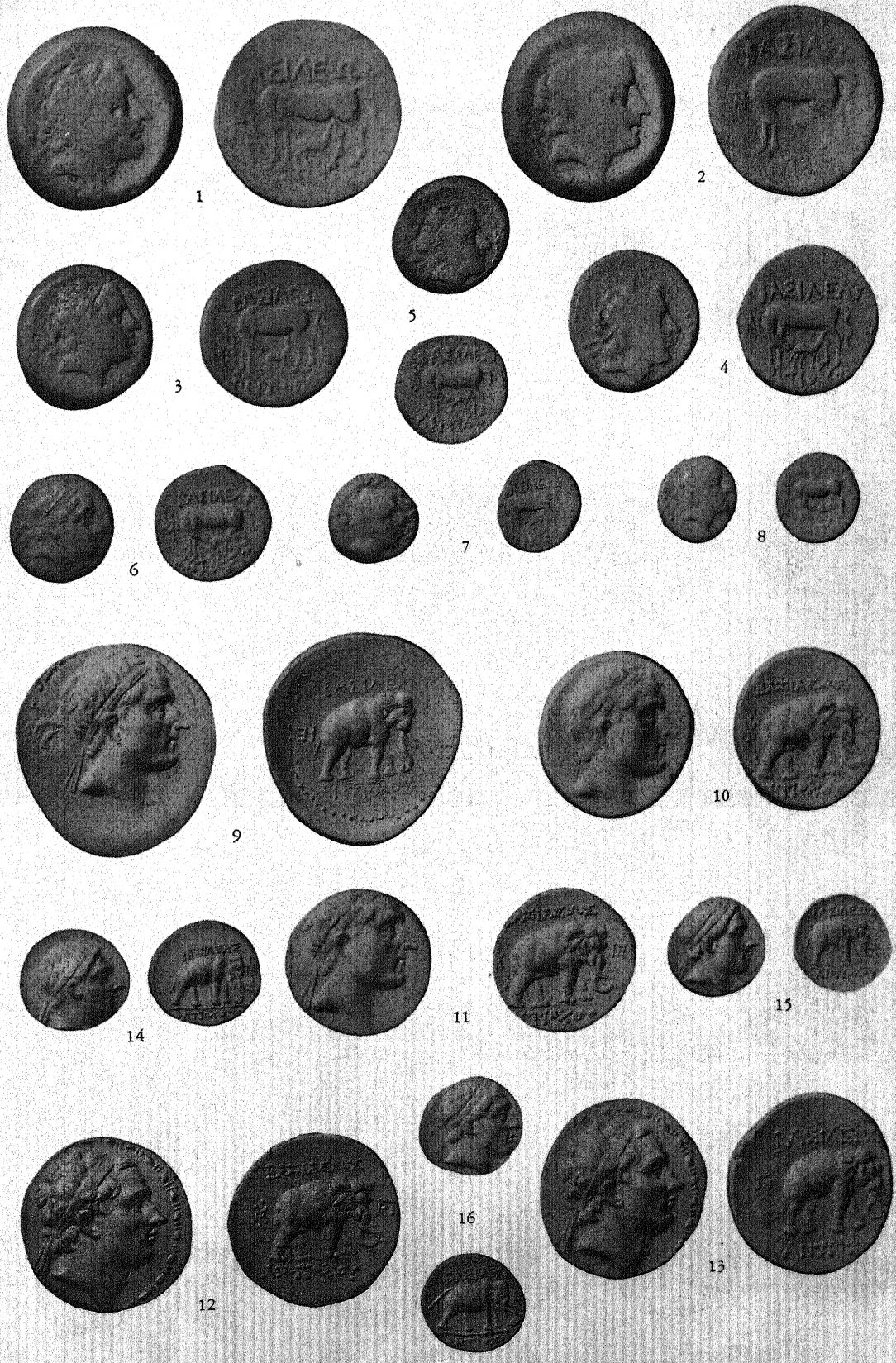


MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS III.

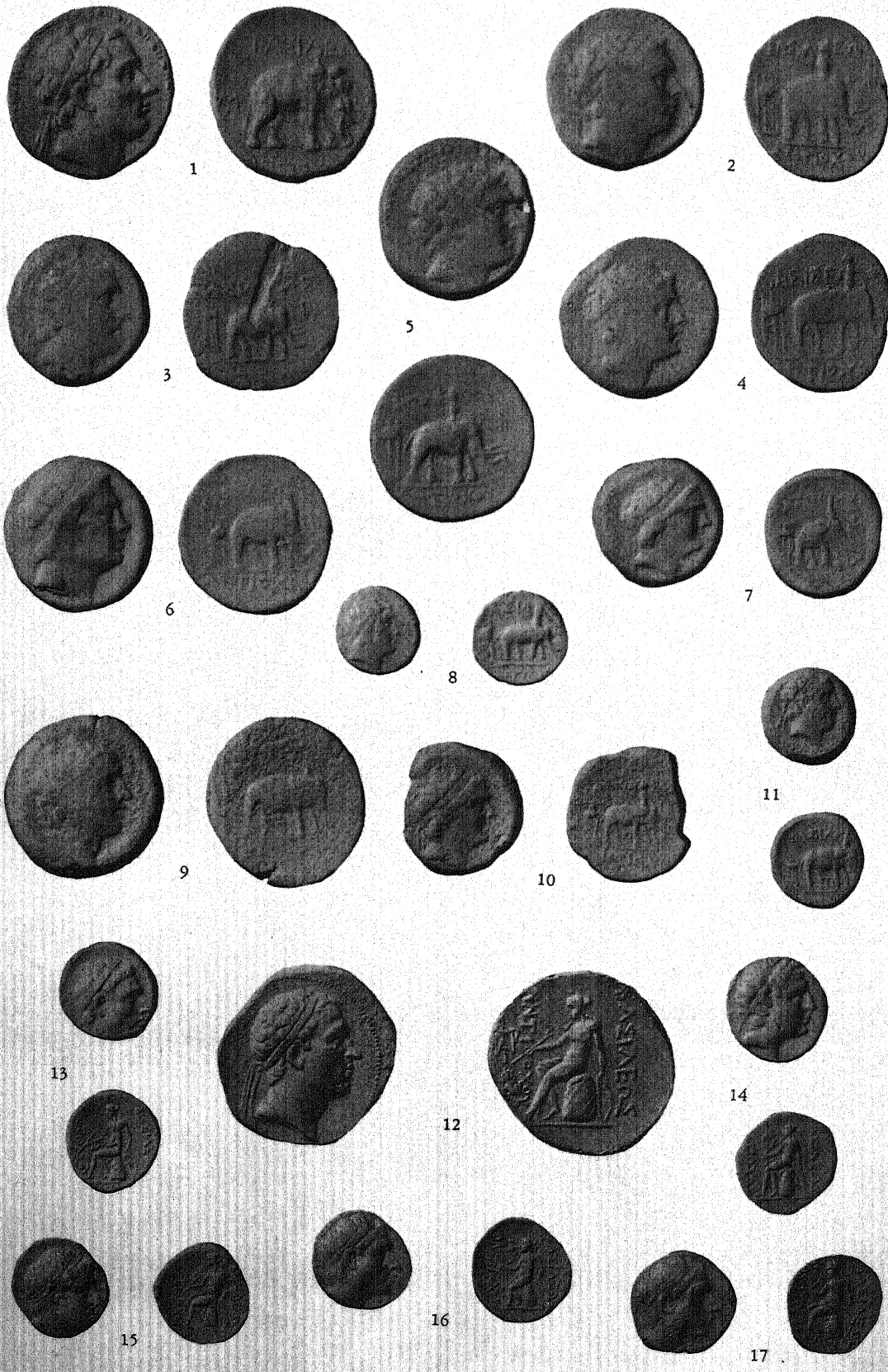
Bronze, Group A (10-12).



MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES III, Bronze, Groups A (1-3), B (4-12), C (13-18).

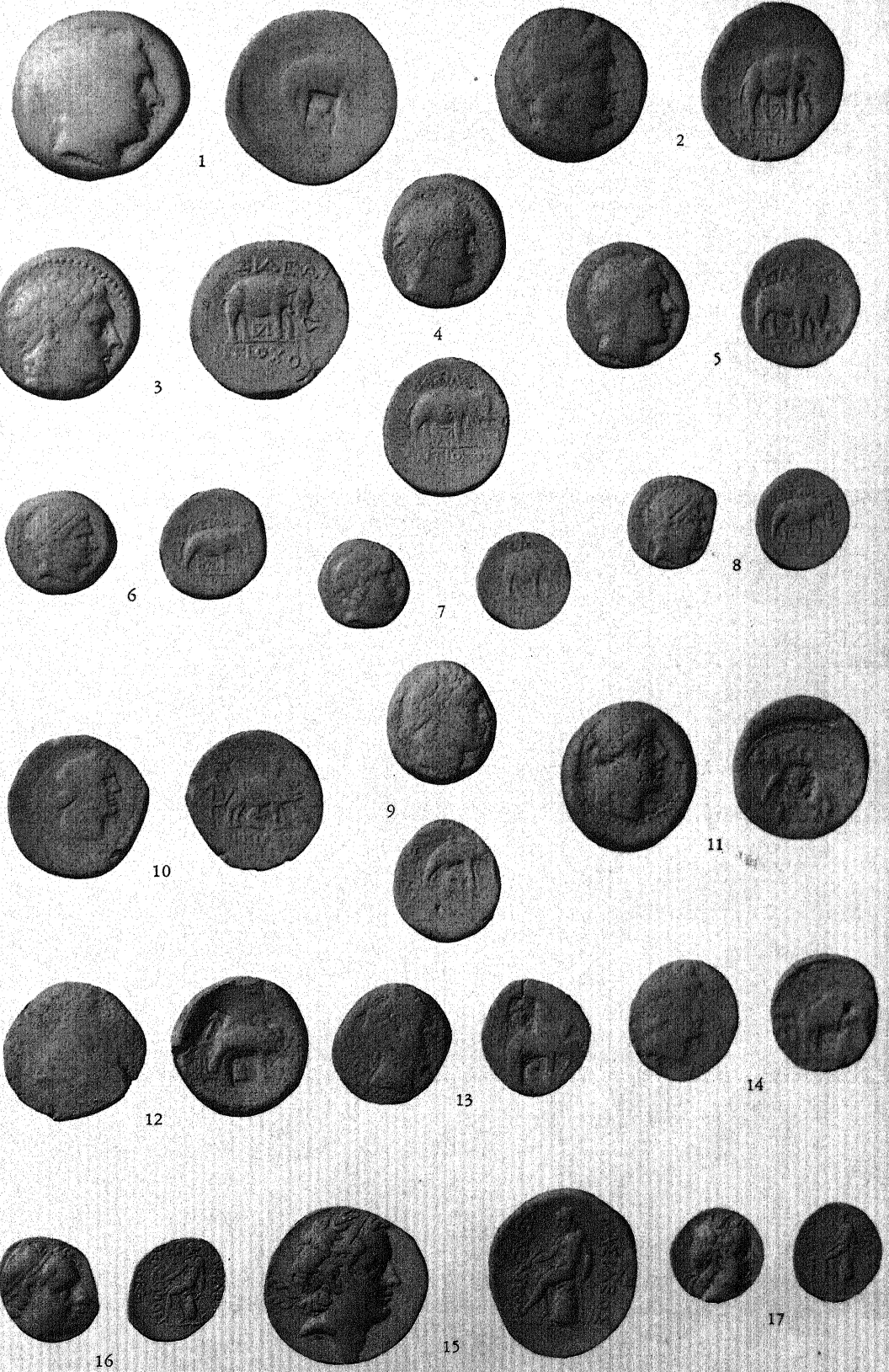


MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES III, Bronze, Group D (1-8); SERIES IV, Silver, (9-16).



MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS III.

SERIES IV, Silver, (1), Bronze, Groups A (2-8), B (9-11); SERIES V, Silver, (12-17).



MINT: ECBATANA. ANTIOCHUS III.

SERIES V, Bronze, Groups A (1-8), B (9-10), C (11), D (12-14).

SELEUCUS IV. (15-17).


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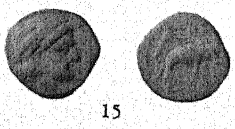

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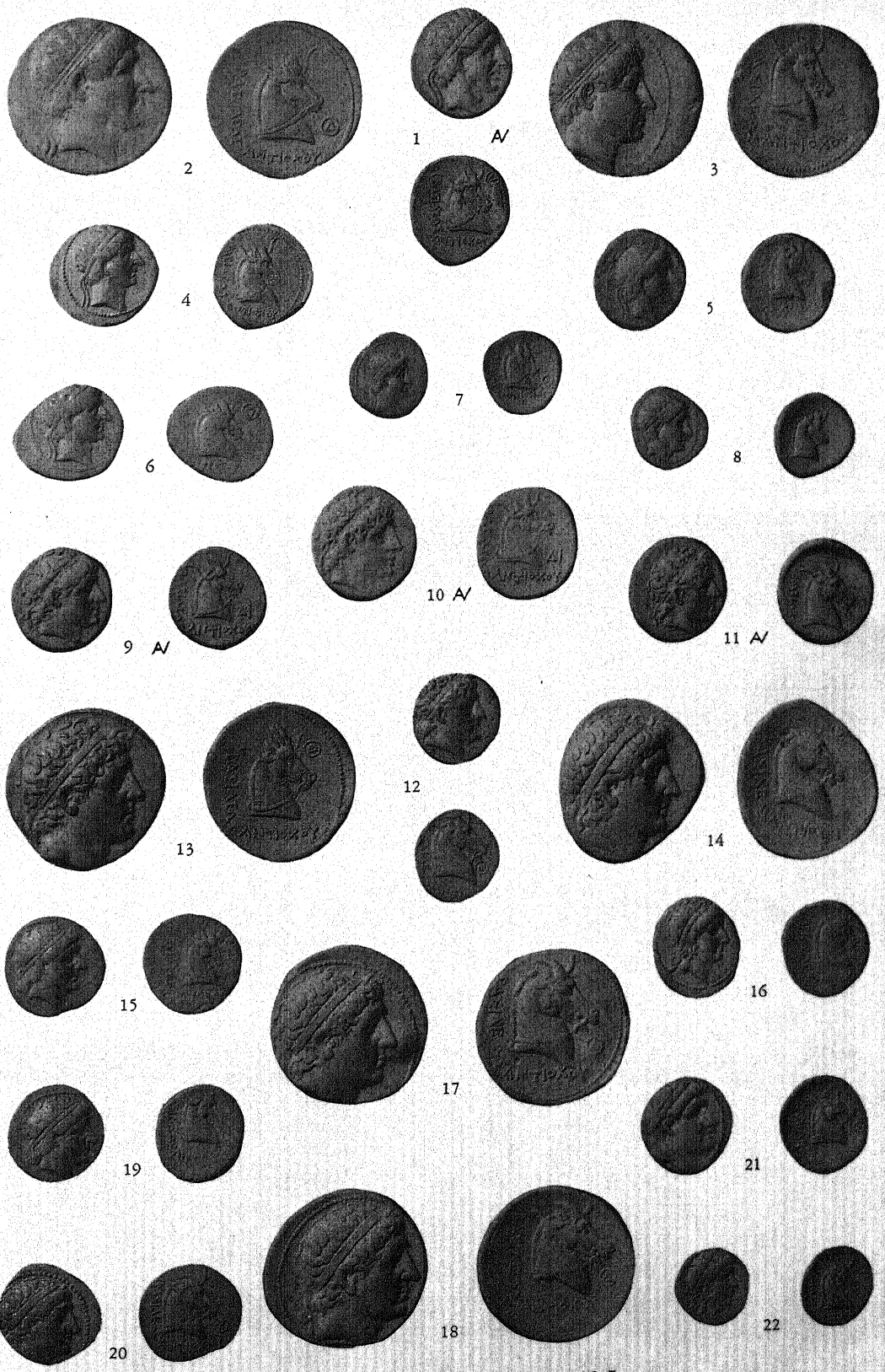

21





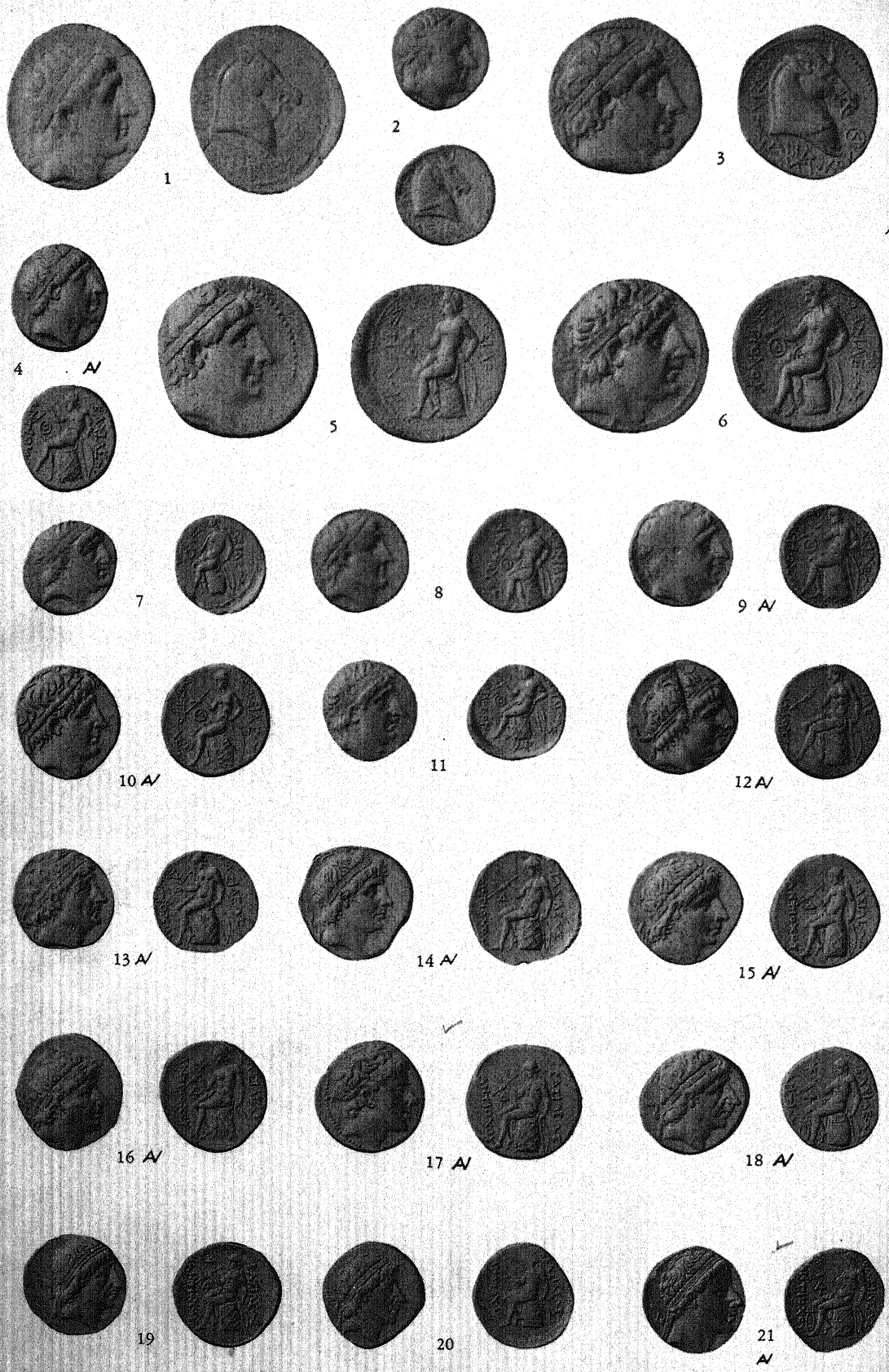

22

MINT: BACTRA. SELEUCUS I.



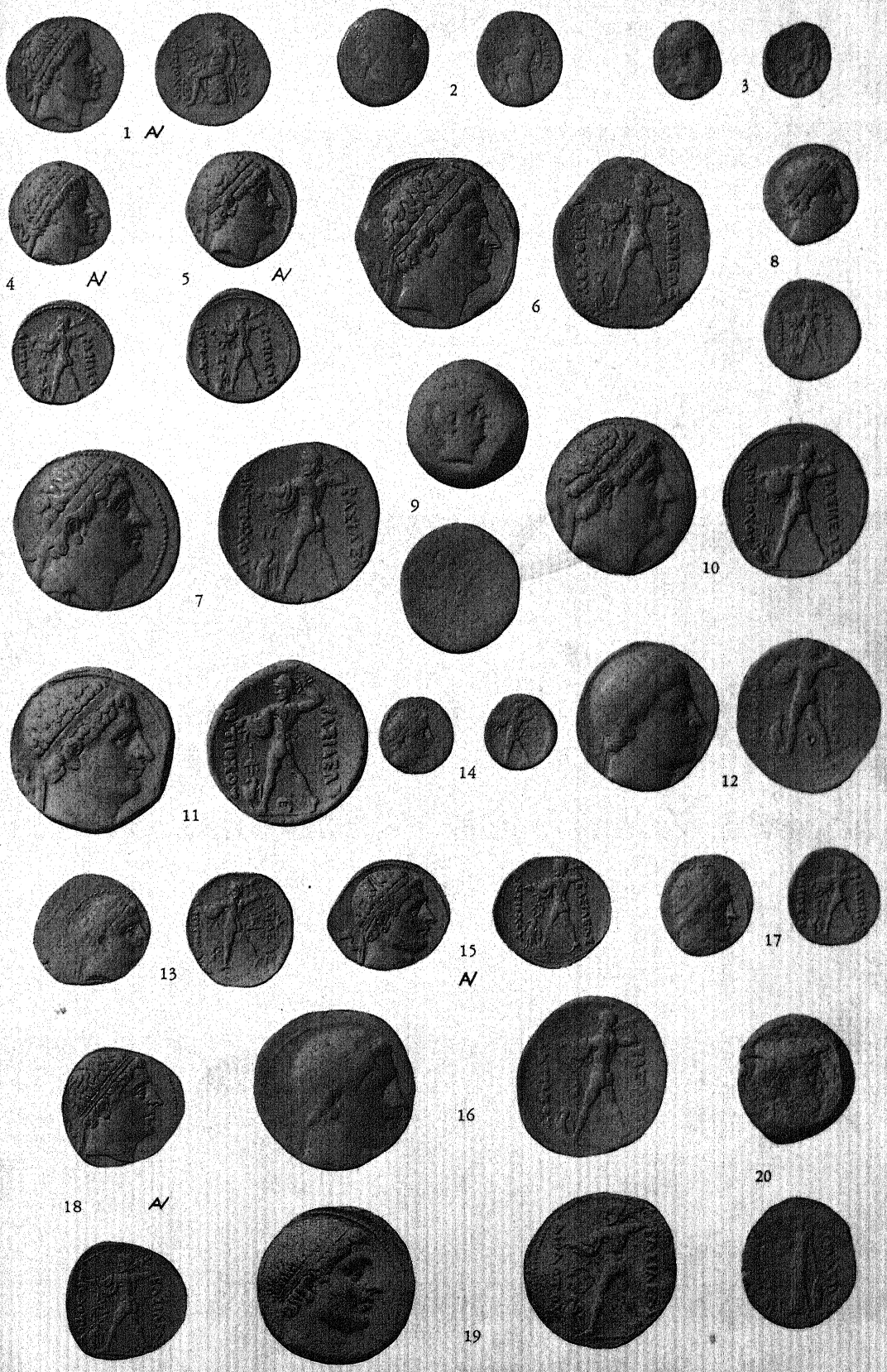
MINT: BACTRA. ANTIOCHUS I.

SERIES I, Groups A (1-8), B (9-22).

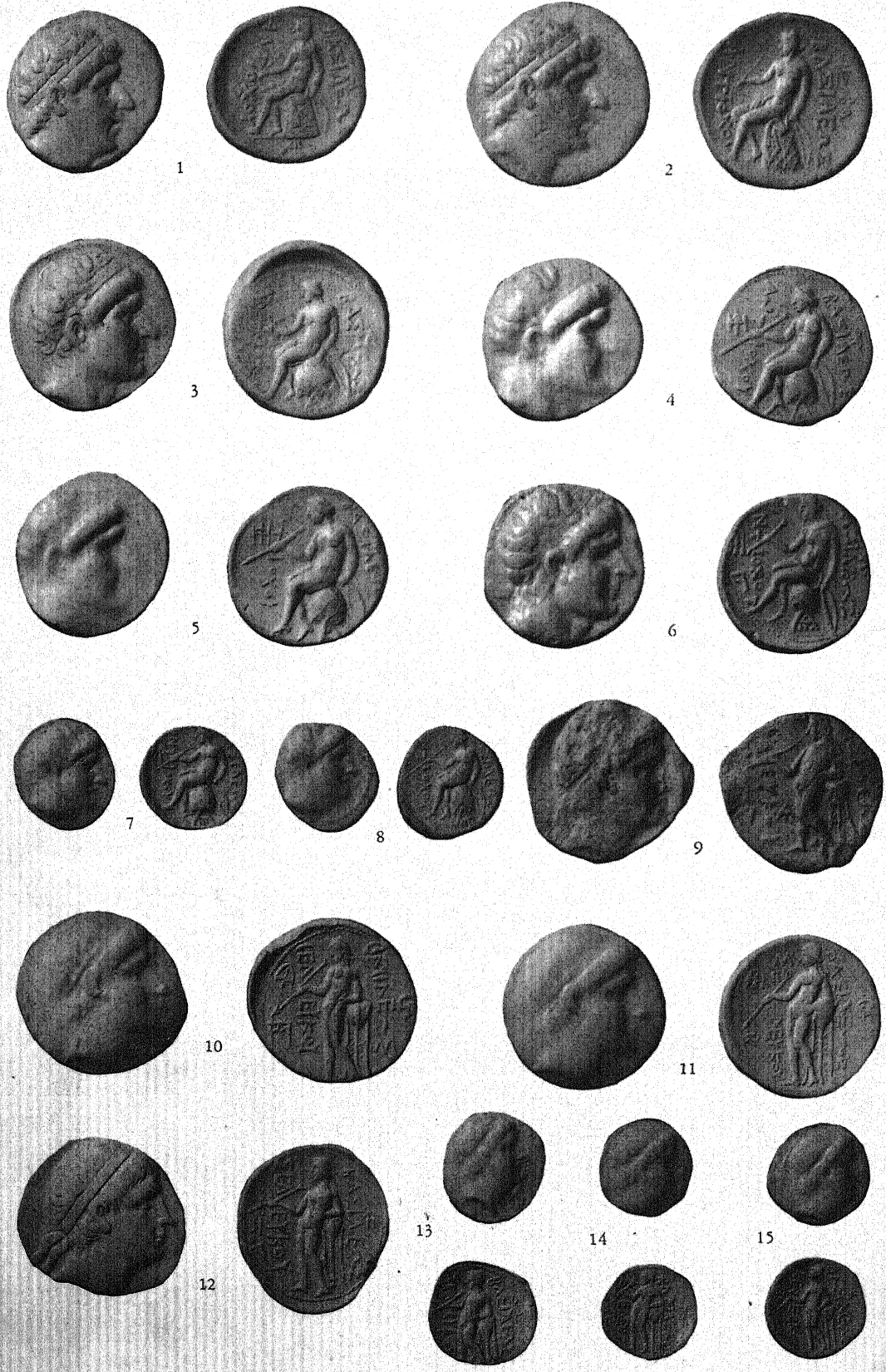


MINT: BACTRA. ANTIOCHUS I.

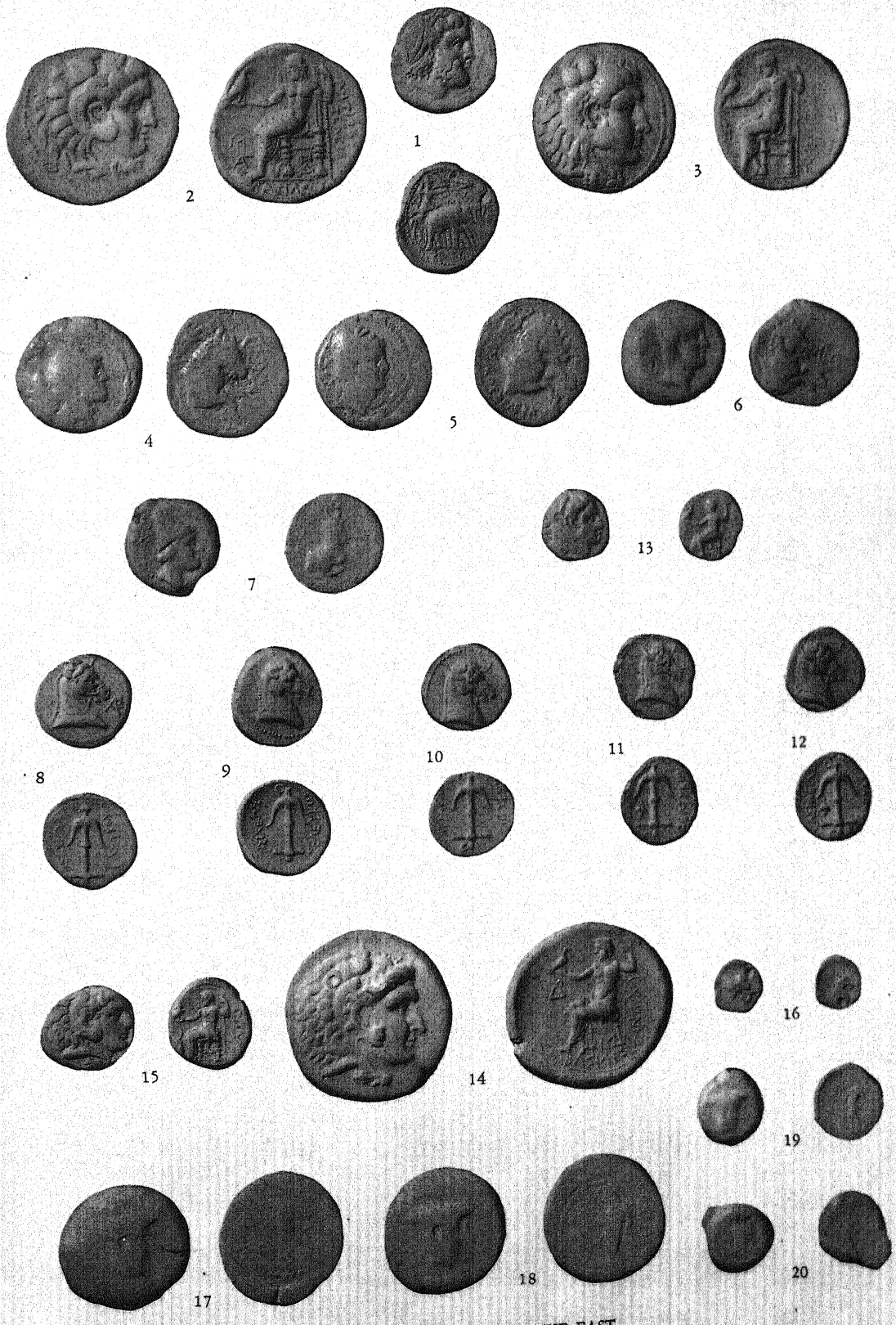
SERIES I, Group C (1-3); SERIES II, Groups A (4-12), B (13-16).



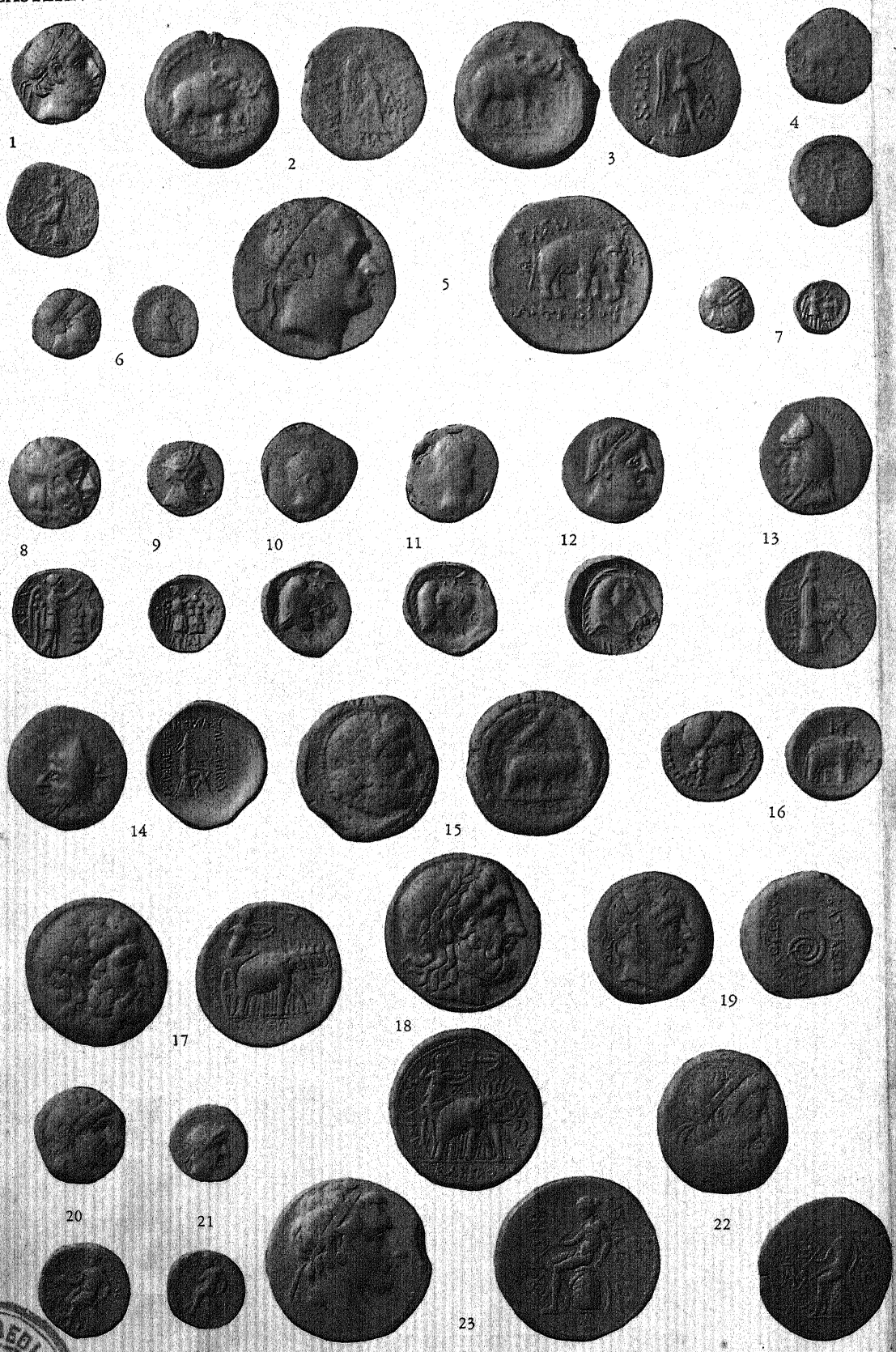
MINT: BACTRA. ANTIOCHUS II.
Group B, (1-3); DIODOTUS under ANTIOCHUS II. (4-17);
DIODOTUS, independent, (18-20).



MINT: HECATOMPYLUS or ARTACOANA.
ANTIOCHUS I. (1-3); ANTIOCHUS II. (4-8);
SELEUCUS II. (9-15).



UNCERTAIN MINTS IN THE EAST.



UNCERTAIN MINTS (1-5); EASTERN IMITATIONS (6-12);

ARCHAEOLOGICAL